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ZHIVKOV TO VISIT ROMANIA SECOND HALF DEC

AU111850 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Todor Zhivkov will make an official and friendly visit to Romania at the head of a party-state delegation during the second half of December.

REGULAR INTERNATIONAL CP CONFERENCE NEEDED

AU101505 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 84 p 5

[Krasimir Ivandzhiyski article: "Progress, Peace, and Socialism"]

[Excerpts] There are two numbers on the cover of the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM journal: 40 and 145. The first figure means that the international edition of the theoretical and informational periodical of the communist and workers parties is issued in 40 languages and the second figure indicates that it is circulated in 145 countries of the world.

These figures testify eloquently enough of the importance of the journal in the past and today in assessing our common cause, as well as in relation to the role assigned it in the offensive struggle for peace, social justice, and progress.

This is why periodic discussions on the work of this journal are becoming a platform for accurate, topical, and scientifically founded analysis concerning the role and place of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in the communist movement of our contemporary world.

Such discussions took place recently at the regular session on the activities of the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM journal which closed Thursday in Prague and which was attended by representatives from 91 communist and workers parties and revolutionary-democratic movements from all over the world.

The statements delivered at the session analyzed the phenomena and processes of the international communist and workers movement -- under the programmatic aspects and from the point of view of tactical and strategic stands regarding the present-day situation in individual countries and areas, as well as on a global scale, and against the background of the requirements of the forthcoming 21st century.

Naturally, any attempt to find a common denominator for the stands of 91 communist parties will be an exceptionally difficult task. The conditions of their work are very different. The external prerequisites for implementation of their strategic goals have also become more complicated.

It is quite logical that recently proposals on convening a new, international conference of fraternal parties have been resumed. Milko Balev, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, stressed as follows in his statement made in Prague: "Our party has on several occasions pointed out the necessity of convening a regular session of fraternal parties likely to discuss measures for counteraction against international reaction, above all against the American military clique, and for rescuing mankind from a nuclear disaster. We support with conviction the proposal submitted in this spirit."

As is known, the last international conference of 75 communist and workers parties was held from 5 through 17 June 1969 in Moscow.

It played a tremendous role in the development of the communist movement and of the revolutionary process.

Our contemporary epoch, however, is placing a number of important, new changes on the agenda, which necessitate a reflection in the theoretical and practical sphere of activities of the communist and workers parties. One of them, above all, is the need for a resolute defense of the right to live without nuclear war, and of the peoples' right to free development -- without the threat of nuclear destruction.

This, and the ideological and psychological confrontation exacerbated to the utmost by the "crusade" against communism, are precisely the reasons for the growing importance of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They are the chief guarantors for implementation of the historic mission assigned to the worldwide communist movement and to its three most important goals: progress, peace, and socialism.

DPRK FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

AU110928 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Kim Yong-nam, member of the Korean Workers Party [WKP] Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the Administrative Council, and minister of foreign affairs of the Korean People's Democratic Republic [DPRK], arrived in Bulgaria today. He will pay an official friendly visit to our country at the invitation of Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs. The esteemed guest was welcomed at Sofia airport by Comrade Petur Mladenov, deputy ministers of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

TALKS HELD WITH UK FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL

AU071846 Sofia BTA in English 1814 GMT 7 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, Dec 7 (BTA) -- On December 6 and 7 political consultations were held in Sofia between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Great Britain. The Bulgarian delegation to the consultations was headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The delegation of Great Britain was headed by Mr Derek Thomas, deputy to the permanent under-secretary of state and political director of the Foreign Office.

During the talks the delegations exchanged views on the state and the prospects for the development of bilateral relations, and on a number of other topical international issues.

They gave a positive evaluation to the development of Bulgaro-British relations and expressed willingness to work for the further activization and expansion of the political contacts, of commercial, economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation on a mutually advantageous base and in accordance with the principles of the Final Act of Helsinki and the Charter of the United Nations.

While discussing international issues the two parties to the talks paid special attention to the problems of the preservation of peace and security in Europe and the world, of the East-West relations, the Middle East, the Cyprus question, Central America, etc.

Expressing concern over the strained international situation and the continuing arms race, the two delegations greeted the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America for negotiations on the whole complex of issues pertaining to nuclear and space weapons.

They noted with satisfaction that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and on Disarmament in Europe is already working on concrete issues and expressed hope that the negotiations on these will be conducted in a constructive spirit for the achievement of substantial and mutually acceptable accords.

The Bulgarian delegation explained the policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the Balkans and stressed on the need of creating a zone free of nuclear weapons in this region.

The British delegation dwelt on the problems related to the expansion of the E.E.C. and on the processes of integration in the community.

The leader of the Foreign Affice delegation, Mr Derek Thomas, was received by the minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Mladenov.

NICARAGUAN PLANNING MINISTER HEADS VISITING GROUP

Received by Filipov

AU102118 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] On 10 December Comrade Grisha Filipov received Henry Ruiz, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and minister of planning, who is visiting Bulgaria as head of an economic delegation. The meeting was attended by Comrade Andrey Lukanov.

Hits 'Almost Declared' U.S. War

AU112115 Sofia BTA in English 1938 GMT 11 Dec 84

["Henry Ruiz: 'No Longer an Undeclared War but Rather an Almost Declared War'" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA) -- Comandante Henry Ruiz, who holds a third day of economic talks here today, told a BTA reporter that the actions of the White House in respect to Nicaragua can no longer be qualified as an "undeclared war." "We should already speak of 'an almost declared war', where the word 'almost reflects President Reagan's failure to get a unanimous support for his aggressive policies in both houses of U.S. Congress", he said. Cmmdr. Henry Ruiz Hernandez, member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and minister of planning of Nicaragua, recalled that in this case the decision-making powers vested in the U.S. President in emergency should be borne in mind.

Mr Henry Ruiz emphasised that Nicaragua is guided in her foreign policy by the principles of non-alignment, that the Sandinista revolution is democratic and anti- imperalist in its character and that it is backed by the popular masses. And as for Nicaragua is taking measures to strengthen her defence, these are prompted by the country's need to defend itself and to counter the aggressive actions of Washington. Nicaragua does not threaten anybody, and she does not have a "super-army". Nicaragua is nobody's base and does not intend to become any such base, said Mr Henry Ruiz.

The guest stressed that the attempts to pressurize Nicaragua by means of economic sanctions, quarantines, and others, are doomed to failure.

JUDICIAL COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CYPRUS

AU111915 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA) -- Today Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr. Foivos Kliridhis, minister of justice of Cyprus.

At the talks the guest informed Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov of the negotiations aimed at solving the Cypriotic problem. He expressed gratitude for the principled and invariable policy of the Bulgarian Government and for the support rendered by the Bulgarian people. Mr Foivos Kliridhis expressed his appreciation of the possibility offered to him to acquaint himself with the work of the Bulgarian judicial bodies.

At the meeting it was pointed out that the present visit of the minister of justice of Cyprus will contribute to the further development of the relations between the two countries. The Bulgarian minister of justice, Mrs. Svetla Daskalova, was also present at the talks.

Today, Mrs. Svetla Daskalova and Mr. Foivos Kliridhis signed a protocol for the exchange instruments of ratification according to the agreement for judicial aid on civil and criminal cases between Bulgaria and Cyprus.

The common assessment was made that the coming into effect of this agreement is a contribution to the consolidation of understanding between the two countries and that it adds to a number of other bilateral documents from the spheres of economy, science and technology.

TRAYKOV OPEN LETTERS ON AGCA TRIAL CONTINUE

Letter VII

AU101530 Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT 10 Dec 84

["Logic Refutes Fiction, Boyan Traykov's Seventh Letter To Ilario Martella" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA) -- In his seventh letter to Rome's investigating magistrate Ilario Martella carried in today's issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the Bulgarian journalist Mr Boyan Traykov emphasizes that there is a whole lot of illogicalities in the indictment of the Bulgarian citizens Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyo Vassilev on charges of complicity in the assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II.

Mr Boyan Traykov compares data from the indictment and poses the following logical questions:

According to the indictment, on May 11, 1980 Bekir Celik and Ayvazov went to scout St Peter's Square and fix the place where Antonov was to wait in a car after the assassination. On May 12 Agca, Celik, Ayvazov and Vassilev rehearsed once again and fixed the most suitable place where Antonov was to wait for them in his car.

Mr Boyan Traykov asks, "Why was Antonov absent from these rehearsals, if they were undertaken to specify the place for the car and his role as the driver?

What was the need of two briefcases with two pistols and two panic bombs inside, when, according to the indictment, Agca, Celik, Antonov and Ayvazov started for St Peter's Square? Agca has had his own pistol. Celik could have used one briefcase with a pistol and a bomb.

Who was the second briefcase for? Antonov had not taken part in the rehearsals, he was not supposed to be present in the square and his only task was to wait to the wheel of his car, right?

On the evening of August 29, 1980, Agca went from Bulgaria into Turkey. Only a couple of hours later, already on August 30, he went back and left for Yugoslavia. The purpose of his visit to Turkey had been to receive a false passport, procured by the Turkish Mafia. Once an assassin of the pope was already found and hired, why was it necessary to expose him to such a great risk of being caught by the Turkish police, who know him very well and who had him on their "wanted" list? Why not just hand over the false passport from Turkey to Bulgaria with the help of "the Bulgarian secret services"? asks Mr Boyan Traykov.

After leaving Bulgaria, Agca had been touring Yugoslavia, Austria, the F.R.G., Switzerland, France, Spain, Tunisia and Italy. Once having secured the papal assassin they "needed", why should the "Bulgarian secret services" be so careless as to risk losing him? asks the Bulgarian journalist. Why should they let him hang around in countries where he was urgently wanted by Interpol?

Agca has received the Browning pistol in a very complicated manner, through the mediation of four persons who have carried it over three different countries. Why all these adventures? Why have the "Bulgarian secret services" failed to supply their assassin with a pistol in Rome, all the more that according to Martella they were running a whole ammunition depot in Rome?

According to the indictment, all three Bulgarians, in the midst of the feverish preparations for the attack, in which they were taking part under assumed names, quite readily amused Agca with detailed accounts of their family status. Is there any such agent who would commit the indiscretion of informing the assassin he has hired about his own family? asks Mr Boyan Traykov. "And all this similarity of their conduct, the uniformity of the information given by the three to Agca: Does it not suggest an identical source of information -- their respective files in Italy? "asks the Bulgarian journalist.

Mr Boyan Traykov asks how the nocturnal visits of Agca at the home of Ayvazov could not have surprised and disturbed his family. Or was the whole family initiated into Ayvazov's mission as a secret agent?

Martella is being asked how he could account for the absurd lack of caution on the part of "the experienced agents and terrorists" who according to the indictment would gather together on several occasions, all five of them, always at one and the same cafe in Rome, last of all when the "agents" knew that the "French services" have already got wind of the preparations for an assault on the pope being under way?

Do you think it is prudent, Mr Boyan Traykov asks, when in the person of Bekir Celenk they had a go-between and a man-of-straw to hire Agca and stage the assassination, that the "Bulgarian secret services" would make themselves conspicuous, and that "Bulgarian agents" would hang around in Rome in Agca's company and would entertain him in their spied-on homes?

And you imagine, Dr Martella, that any conspirers would discourage their hired assassin by letting him know that the "French services" were aware of the preparations and that their sounding the alarm would certainly result in "tightened security for the pope"? asks Mr Boyan Traykov.

Had it not been a big blunder for "skilled agents and terrorists" to provide for only one escape car, and with an inexperienced driver at that, when everyone who happens to know Antonov claims he could only drive at a snail's pace in the streets of Rome?

Could the "Bulgarian agents" be ignorant of the "secret" that the telephones of the socialist embassies were bugged so as to use them, though under assumed names, to make appointments and connections? Doesn't it all look rather like a "schoolboy conspiracy", to put it in the words of a Swedish journalist, Mr Boyan Traykov asks.

He points out that Agca ascribes many stupid mistakes and naive statements and actions to the "inexperience of the Bulgarian secret service", which Martella seems to take at face value. Mr Boyan Traykov writes that many such questions are sure to be asked at the forthcoming trial.

Further on his letter, the Bulgarian journalist asks how is it possible when the C.I.A. sponsorship and control over the National Action Party in Turkey and the "Grey Wolves" is a well known fact that Martella would back the allegation that the Bulgarian authorities would have resorted to the help of this organization for the papal assassination. How the "Bulgarian authorities" would fail to see that the C.I.A. could be immediately informed about the contemplated assassination. "And if you assume, as it seems, that the Bulgarian authorities have undertaken the assassination attempt together with the "Grey Wolves" and the C.I.A. why don't you say it clearly!" the author challenges Martella.

Another question that Mr Boyan Traykov asks is how Sergey Antonov could stay in Rome after the following series questions:

-- Once the daily American publication in Rome, has mentioned "Bulgarian trail" in the attack.
-- Once the READER'S DIGEST magazine was already positive about the existence of a "Bulgarian trail".
-- Once Omer Mersan, in contact with the Bulgarian services, as Martella claims has already been interrogated.
-- Once the names of Bekir Celenk and Adjlayssaral [previous word as received] have been mentioned in a West German TV programme (October, 1982)
-- Once Musa Serdar Celebi, in Martella's view one of the middlemen between the Bulgarian services and Agca, has been arrested.
-- Once a survey has been conducted in the Balkanair office in Rome, document have been seized for further checks and inspection and Sergey Antonov has been interviewed, or rather interrogated.

"You, Dr Martella, seem to have the lowest possible opinion of the qualifications of the Bulgarian security services. You may apply your own standard, but logic follows generally accepted norms, you cannot overlook them. The way you do".

Letter VIII

AU110839 Sofia BTA in English 0621 GMT 11 Dec 84

["Fear of Commitment of the Investigating Magistrates?" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA) -- An intrusive impression arising from the indictment of Illario Martella is the passion with which he chases and pursues the "Bulgarian connection" while he carelessly bypasses or pulls up suddenly at all those "detours" which spring into sight and which might lead him to another track. That is the conclusion arrived at by Bulgarian journalist Mr Boyan Traykov in his eighth letter to Rome's investigating magistrate Ilario Martella. The letter is carried in today's issue of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO newspaper.

Mr Boyan Traykov emphasizes that in the course of the investigation into the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II, Martella has obviously had in mind a single target, and a single "Bulgarian Trail".

"Because you, Dr Martella, have put on blinders, which prevented you from looking around and which guided you into the 'Bulgarian Trails' alone, away from the road to the truth, wherever it may lead", writes the Bulgarian journalist.

He provides a number of examples to support his assertion.

In the course of the investigation Martella has independently arrived at the conclusion which is later confirmed by Agca's own admission, that the Turkish terrorist has lied to him about knowing the Bulgarian diplomat Ivan Donchev and about visiting places on Lech Walesa's Rome schedule in the company of Bulgarian agents. But the investigating magistrate stops here and rules that the charges be dropped on the grounds of insufficient evidence. Mr Boyan Traykov asks, "Why didn't you follow this track to the source of Agca's knowledge of the places and persons he describes without having ever seen them, visited them, or known them for that matter"?

Mr Boyan Traykov asks Martella why he has not checked and why he has not noted in his indictment whether his colleague Imposimato has really committed the grave procedural blunder of showing Agca an album of identification photographs, pointing to one of them and asking, "This is Ivan Donchev, do you know him?"

Neither has Martella checked whether in Agca's presence his colleagues have really had a talk and read documents containing information which was the subject of the interrogation they started with him only minutes later. "You have ventured to bring your colleagues Imposimato and Priore [spelling of names as received] to public disrepute, to incriminate them of an inadmissible procedural act, but you have declined to go deeper into this exceedingly serious question about Agca's sources of information", writes Mr Boyan Traykov to Martella.

The Bulgarian journalist emphasizes that Martella has failed to take interest in the unauthorised communications of Agca in the conditions of "absolute isolation". In this regime of "absolute isolation" Agca has managed to acquire quite a good command of Italian, following his active contacts with the boss of the Neapolitan Camorra Cutolo, with the idealogue of the Red Brigades Giovanni Senzani, with the Mafioso father Mariano Santini, and others.

This question is left without any answer in Martella's indictment. "Shall we assume this is a track with a 'no entry' sign blocking your access to it, or Martella?", asks Mr Boyan Traykov.

During debates at the Italian Parliament, former Italian Defence Minister Lelio Lagorio has announced that representatives of certain Italian secret services had visited "isolated" Agca in prison. That was confirmed in greater detail by the reports carried in Italian newspapers, as well as by a document sent from the Ministry of the Interior to the Italian Questura in Rome. Not only has Martella failed to follow this track, but he turns his back on it imperturbably and passes it over. He rules that the interview in prison be considered void of any procedural significance, i.e., that it has nothing to do with the assassination attempt and its organizers.

Apart from that, Martella fails to account for "isolated" Agca's letters to the U.S. Embassy in Rome.

Further on, Mr Boyan Traykov emphasizes that in the course of the investigation, Martella has become positively convinced from testimonial evidence and from documents supplied by the Turkish judicial authorities that Agca is a member of the "Grey Wolves" organization. Meanwhile, inquiries and published letters have revealed the very close interrelations between the "Grey Wolves" and intelligence centers in the West, especially the C.I.A. of the U.S.

Martella has failed to set on this clear-cut track, too.

In the course of the investigation Martella has learned that Agca had intended to visit the U.S. but was denied an entry visa.

Mr Boyan Traykov emphasizes that the investigating magistrate has failed to make inquiries with the respective authorities in the U.S. about the reasons for cancellation. The visa application was made with a false passport to the name of Faruk Ozgun. "Does that cancellation show the authorities' awareness of the real identity of Faruk Ozgun -- the dangerous criminal Agca, writes Mr Boyan Traykov, "or doesn't that cancellation disclose the awareness of the respective authorities in the U.S. of a certain something and their unwillingness that a visit to the U.S. be found registered in the passport of Faruk Ozgun, alias Agca, when that something happened?"

Martella has not set on this track, either.

In conclusion of his eighth letter to Rome's investigating magistrate, Mr Boyan Traykov writes, "Now that it is crystal clear you have noticed the existence of other tracks which might have led you to the truth, yet not only have you shunned them but even tried to cover up some of them. I would like to ask you about the only two possible explanations I can see: Was it the sense of fear or the sense of commitment which kept you away of the "hazard zones"? In either case it is not to your credit!"

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER POPOV VISITS JAPAN

AU111641 Sofia BTA in English 1525 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Tokyo, December 11 (BTA corr.) -- A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Mr. Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, which is on a visit to Japan met with Mr Toshidjiro Nakadjima, ((spelling as received)) deputy minister of foreign affairs of Japan and with other high-ranking officials from the ministry.

The talks discussed the bilateral relations and expressed the mutual wish for their further promotion, noting that there exist possibilities for broadening cooperation between the two countries. A number of issues of mutual interest were also discussed as well as some topical issues of the international situation.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER POPOV VISITS THAILAND

For Thai reportage on the 2-4 December visit to Thailand by Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Lyubomir Popov see the Thailand section of the 6 December Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

DEFENSE BUDGET TO INCREASE BY 4.5 PERCENT

LD111213 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] The 15th joint session of the Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly is debating today the draft of the government-initiated bill on the state budget of the Czechoslovak federation for next year. Lubos Lidicky, our reporter, has sent us the following report directly from the Federal Assembly:

[Lidicky] Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, welcomed at the session Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, ministers, representatives of the National Front, and other guests.

At this moment deputies are listening to a report on the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for next year being delivered by Leopold Ler, federal minister of finance. As the comrade minister said, the draft budget provides for balancing revenues and expenditures. It continues to restrict economically unwarranted subsidies. These will be provided solely for actions that are important for the development of the entire national economy in the fuel, power, transportation, forestry and water conservancy, and agricultural sectors.

In expenditures, the biggest share goes to noninvestment expenditures for services to the population, 46.8 percent, out of which 26 percent goes to social security. Expenditures on defense and security are to increase 4.5 percent in comparison with this year's spending, which provides for the necessary requirements in this area. Expenditures on the development of science and technology, too, will be higher in comparison with the current year by 7.7 percent.

Despite the overall positive trends within the national economy, negative phenomena still appear in the draft state budget and are slowing the pace of increase in the effectiveness of the economy. This involves in particular the insufficient influence exerted by science and technology on the development and high financial intensiveness of foreign-economic relations and increased demands by certain branches, which are siphoning off accumulated financial resources. This is why it is necessary to pay systematic attention to the balance between financial resources and requirements. This involves husbanding well what we have or rather what we shall have next year in our joint purse. The state budget provides Kcs190,774,800,000 for this purpose.

The report by the federal minister of finance will be followed by reports to be delivered by joint reporters of the Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations, after which a debate on the state budget will open in parliament.

CSSR EVALUATES INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL MEETING

AU101159 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 84 p 2

[Rudolf Nittmann commentary in the "We Comment" column: "A Living Embodiment of Internationalism"]

[Text] The conference of fraternal parties on the work of their periodical PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALISMA was held 4-6 December in Prague. The conference dealt quite logically -- apart from the assessment of the report submitted by the editorial board and editorial collegium -- with the most burning issues of the present: the fight for peace, for averting a nuclear war, and for social progress in the world.

Peace and socialism are the main program of the perodical, as well as of the entire international communist and workers movement. And when the representatives of such a large number of fraternal parties convene for a joint meeting -- as was the case in Prague, where a total of 91 communist, workers, and revolutionary-democratic parties were represented -- it is quite natural that they speak of what interests the peoples most. The people in individual countries can have different social worries and economic problems; but the thing of greatest concern to mankind is the dangerous international situation and the threat of nuclear war, which could have extremely catastrophic consequences for all of human civilization and for life on our planet in general.

The Communists say that this can be prevented, that this terrible threat can be averted. It can be prevented by activating the peace movement, by involving millions of people in antiwar actions, by all people multiplying their efforts, by unmasking the people who are instigating war, and by constantly strengthening world socialism and the forces of peace and progress. The periodical PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALISMA serves this goal. During the 3-day international conference, much praise was directed toward the periodical for the assistance it is granting to the individual parties by its articles on p-rty-political work, by its analyses of socioclass processes in the world, and by its elaboration of the theoretical issues of Marxism-Leninism. Many proposals were also voiced, however, on the orientation of its contents, on the issues which should receive increased attention, and on the overall work of the international collective in its editorial office. At the same time the representatives of the fraternal parties particularly stressed in their statements that the periodical PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALISMA is their only collective press organ. They stressed that the periodical is a living embodiment of internationalism; their joint platform for exchanging, generalizing, and disseminating the experience acquired in political practice; a proving ground for testing theoretical elaborations of the most significant issues of the parties' activity under differing conditions; the medium for expressing their attributes and opinions; the foundation for consolidating and deepening the unity of the movement and of cooperation; and a significant element in the fight for peace and for development of the world revolutionary process.

Particular attention was devoted at the conference to statements made by the representatives of communist and workers parties from the socialist countries, especially because of the enormous significance of their experience in socialist construction for other countries and for sharing in the realities of the present world and in ensuring peace. Comrade Vasil Bilak spoke of the successes we have achieved in the socialist construction of our country, and also of our combining our everyday effort for building a new, socialist life with the fight for peace and for international detente. "We always proceed from the fact that it is only under peaceful conditions that the great merits of socialism can be fully revealed," he stressed. He added that "Today, peace is the condition not only for successfuly building socialism, but also for achieving success in the fight waged by the workers class in the capitalist world -- the fight of the peoples striving for their national and social liberation." Similarly, Comrade Boris Ponomarev pointed out the connections between socialism and peace. Comrade Ponomarev pointed out that the socialist community is playing a decisive role in preventing nuclear war and, by opposing the forces of imperialism, establishing favorable conditions also for the success of the national liberation fight of the people. This is the support and hope of the fighting workers class and working people in the capitalist countries.

The speeches of the representatives of fraternal parties from the nonsocialist world then resounded with appreciation for this activity, this position, and the importance of real socialism. The speeches also resounded with support for the peace policy pursued by the socialist countries, because of which it is possible for revolutionary transformations to take place in the world; for the social conditions of the working people to improve; for many progressive processes to take place; and for positive development trends to be realized.

Furthermore these changes are constantly progressing, even in spite of the efforts of imperialism to turn back the wheel of history, despite its attempts to disrupt the unity of the socialist community, despite the acceleration of anticommunism and of reprisals against the progressive forces. Such transformations in their countries were mentioned, for instance, by representatives of the Communist Party of Uruguay, by representatives of New Zealand's Party of Socialist Unity, and particularly by representatives of the revolutionary democratic parties with socialist orientations.

At the same time new tasks are emerging for the international communist movement itself. Almost all participants spoke about this. It is necessary to step up the fight against the threat of a nuclear war and for saving human society. This requires that we unify and activate the antiwar movement and deepen the unity of all fraternal parties and other progressive forces. Overwhelming majority of speakers at the Prague conference felt the best way to do this would be to assess the most important tasks of the Communists in the fight for peace and against war at a new international conference of communist and workers parties.

The Communists always have their finger on the pulse of events and of life. The conference of communist, workers, and revolutionary-democratic parties on the work of their periodical also deeply probed into the problems of the present world, from among which it selected the most important core: how to strengthen the fight for peace, for disarmament, and against the threat of a nuclear war. Because peace is imperative for social progress, and because social progress and all the successes of the world revolutionary process, the consolidation of the positions of world socialism in particular, strengthen mankind's guarantees of peace. In Prague it was again affirmed that the issues of peace and socialism are the most vital problems of all fraternal parties.

SPANISH FORIEGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS

Meets With Chnoupek

LD101443 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Dec 84

[Text] Talks opened today in the Cernin Palace in Prague between the Czechoslovak and Spanish foreign ministers, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Fernando Moran Lopez. They examined relations between their countries and noted that there has been positive development on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage, and that all prerequisites exist for further comprehensive development of bilateral relations. They have confirmed their interest in continuing to deepen and strengthen mutual contacts in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and other spheres.

During the exchange of views on the international situation, current vital issues were emphasized: averting the threat of nuclear confrontation, strengthening security and confidence on our continent, and living in peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Minister Chnoupek recalled important peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states and stressed that the socialist states have always shown their sincere interest in reaching an understanding and in a serious dialogue based on equality.

Fernando Moran Lopez, the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, confirmed the Spanish Government's interest in seeking ways to improve the international situation and strengthen peace the world over.

Chnoupek Hosts Luncheon

LD102248 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK) -- There are all prerequisites for further development of Czechoslovak-Spanish mutually advantageous cooperation, Czechoslovak Foriegn Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said today at a luncheon given to honor his Spanish colleague Fernando Moran Lopez.

He stressed that in the present deteriorated international situation Czechoslovakia together with its allies strives for the reduction of danger of military confrontation; for the return to the relaxation of tension in the world. Czechoslovakia places great importance on Soviet efforts to prevent the militarization of space.

An agreement of all nuclear powers on not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, just as the Soviet Union has already pledged, would be an effective confidence- and security-building measures. It would be an important step on the way to a total ban on the use of nuclear arms.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister expressed conviction that the visit will contribute to the expansion of cooperation in all spheres of common interest.

In his reply, Fernando Moran Lopez said that the Spanish Government regards the achievement of lasting peace and easing of tension in the world as its main objective.

In this respect, further cooperation between countries with different social systems is not only possible, but also essential. These objectives can be achieved with good-will on both sides, he said and recalled the role Spain played as host country for success of the Madrid meeting.

The Spanish foreign minister welcomed the decision of the Soviet Union and the United States to discuss a broad range of issues concerning nuclear armament.

Meets With Husak

LD101848 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, received today at Prague Castle Fernando Moran Lopes, Spanish minister of foreign affairs.

They assessed the present results of Czechoslovak-Spanish relations and exchanged views on the current international situation. They also stressed the need to exert every effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, halt the arms race, and improve the international atmosphere.

Meets With Strougal

LD111939 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] At the Hrzan Palace in Prague today Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran Lopez, who is currently on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives stressed in their conversation that there are no obstacles between Czechoslovakia and Spain which would hinder further development of mutual political relations.

They also stressed that their foreign policy seeks to reduce international tension, bring about disarmament and achieve lasting peace. They also stressed that further deepening of relations requires a significant broadening of economic cooperation. Its present scope so far does not correspond to the industrial potential of Czechoslovakia and Spain. Much broader possibilities, which should be used, also exist in the cooperation on third markets as well as in broadening contacts in science, technology and culture.

Holds Press Conference

LD112022 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] A press conference with Fernando Moran Lopez, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, was held today. Fernando Moran Lopez is paying an official visit to Czechoslovakia. Editor Vaclav Chadraba was among the journalists present.

At the beginning of the meeting, the Spanish guest briefly assessed the course of the visit.

[Begin Moran recording in Spanish with superimposed Czech translation] Let me greet you as the first Spanish minister to visit Czechoslovakia. I arrived at the invitation of my colleague, Bohuslav Chnoupek, who I had the opporutnity to meet in Madrid, at the European meeting on security, as well as on the territory of the UN. We had a long working session yesterday morning. We jointly discussed a number of questions, specifically, East-West relations, and the perspectives offered by the possibility of further dialogue between the USSR and the United States on disarmament questions. At the same time, we exchanged views on various sources of tension in international relations, such as the Middle East or Central America. Then I had the honor of being received by the president of your republic, Gustav Husak, with whom I had an almost 1-hour conversation. Today I will be received by the premier and our dialogue will concern, above all, economic topics. [end recording]

The question of possibilities of further cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Spain was answered by Fernando Moran as follows:

[Begin Moran recording] I think that there exist great possibilities in the field of commercial contacts. Our trade exchange is now at about $60 million, and this does not correspond to the commercial structure of either Spain or Czechoslovakia. I think that one of the main sources of difficulty is that the two markets are not sufficiently acquainted with each other, and that is why we will have to start making efforts in the sphere of commercial information. We can establish good cooperation also in the technological sphere, as both of our countries are at a high technological level and we will certainly find spheres where we will be able to cooperate. [end recording]

One of the other questions concerned the Spanish attitudes at the Stockholm conference on the measures strengthening trust and security and on disarmament in Europe.

[Begin Moran recording] We attach great significance to the Stockholm conference. We think that at the present time, and until the January talks between the representatives of the USSR and the United States, Stockholm represent the only forum where important and significant topics of war and peace can be discussed. I talked about this conference with the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs yesterday, and we agreed that progress was made during the latest talks, technical progress I would say, in that two working groups were formed. One will discuss questions of a technological-military nature, the other political questions. I also appreciated the fact that ever since the beginning of the Stockholm conference, the socialist states have stressed the need to produce a declaration rejecting the use of force and renouncing first use of nuclear weapons. [end recording]

GDR'S WEISS DISCUSSES TRADE WITH LEADERS

Meets With Strougal

LD111725 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister, received in Prague today Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. During their discussion both representatives praised the results achieved in intensifying political, economic and cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and the GDR. They also examined a broad range of questions concerning economic cooperation in the coming year, and in particular in the period of the next 5-year plan, which is now being drawn up. They stressed interest in greater dynamism and intensification of comprehensive economic, scientific and technological cooperation by way of deeper production cooperation and specialization in the most important branches of the national economy.

1985 Trade Protocol Signed

LD112228 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Prague 11 Dec (ADN) -- A protocol on trade between the GDR and the CSSR for 1985 was signed in Prague on Tuesday. It provides for a considerable increase in trade in 1985. The two countries will primarily trade in products of the metal-processing industry.

Products which will be delivered as a result of agreements on specialization and cooperation will account for 10 percent of the trade. This applies in particular to machine tools and agricultural machinery construction, the electrical engineering and electronic industries, as well as the chemical industry.

The turnover of machine tools for noncutting and cutting manufacturing will reach a volume of around 80 million roubles. The GDR will export 1,200 harvesters and 560 potato harvesters and will receive 200 beet-top loaders, 370 potato planters and 450 forestry and medium-sized tractors. The GDR will also deliver 100 railway and 35 sleeping cars and the CSSR 550 railway freight cars, as well as 87 trams.

In 1985 too, the GDR will export lignite briquettes, potash fertilizers, mineral salt, polyurethane, and soda and the CSSR will export hard coal, coking coal, rolled steel and chemical products. The trade of consumer goods is also planned.

BELGIUM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER MEETS WITH LEADERS

Fischer Welcomes Tindemans

LD101741 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 10 Dec (ADN) -- Belgian External Affairs Minister Leo Tindemans arrived in the GDR Monday for an official visit at the invitation of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who welcomed his guest and entourage this afternoon in the Foreign Ministry in Berlin's Marx-Engels Square.

Earlier Leo Tindemans honored the victims of fascism and militarism by laying a wreath at the Unter den Linden Memorial. Oskar Fischer will give a dinner this evening in honor of the Belgian politician.

Preliminary Exchange of Views

LD101748 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1656 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 10 Dec (ADN) -- The foreign ministers of the GDR and Belgium, Oskar Fischer and Leo Tindemans, started their officials talks on international and bilateral questions. Earlier both ministers met for a preliminary exchange of views.

Their exchange of views is focusing on problems of securing peace and preventing nuclear war.

Official Talks Begin

LD101946 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1822 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 10 Dec (ADN) -- Official talks on international and bilateral questions started on Monday in Berlin between the foreign ministers of the GDR and Belgium, Oskar Fischer and Leo Tindemans. The exchange of views focused on problems of securing peace and preventing nuclear war.

Oskar Fischer stressed that the primary goal of GDR foreign policy is to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. As Erich Honecker said at the ninth SED Central Committee plenum, it is necessary to stop the disastrous arms race. We maintain our view that more weapons do not bring more security and that the stationing of nuclear medium-range weapons in some Western European NATO states has introduced a particularly dangerous phase of the arms race in Europe.

In this connection Oskar Fischer explained the results of the meeting of the committee of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states. He emphasized the willingness expressed at the meeting by the Warsaw Pact states to hold a serious and equal dialogue to achieve agreements in results-orientated negotiations based on the principles of equality and equal security. The proposals of the Warsaw Pact states to stop the arms race and prevent a war remain in force. The Warsaw Pact states are expecting an answer from the NATO states particularly to the proposal to quantitatively and qualitatively freeze nuclear arms.

Oskar Fischer and Leo Tindemans were in agreement that there was no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence between states of differing social orders.

A policy of realism and business-like cooperation is required to bring about a turn for the better in solving the tasks facing the people of Europe. Both foreign ministers welcomed the announced talks between the Soviet Union and the United States to determine the subject and goal of negotiations on the total complex of nuclear and space weapons as well as to achieve mutually acceptable agreements.

Participating in the talks, which took place in an open and business-like atmosphere, were the deputy ministry of foreign affairs, Kurt Nier, other leading members of the GDR Foreign Ministry, and the persons accompanying the Belgian minister of external affairs.

Fischer, Tindeman Exchange Toasts

LD102125 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1840 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 10 Dec (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave a dinner Monday evening in honor of Belgian External Affairs Minister Leo Tindemans.

The following were invited to the Unter den Linden Palace: Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, GDR State Council deputy chairman; Manfred Flegel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; as well as others from GDR social life.

At the start of the dinner, Oskar Fischer and Leo Tindemans proposed toasts.

Oskar Fischer praised the progress in the two countries' relations since his last meeting with Leo Tindemans 2 years ago. This is particularly shown through the recent numerous meetings between representatives from the two countries. Trade and economic relations are also developing well and for mutual benefit. "What has been achieved deserves to be carefully nurtured and sensibly increased, for it gives proof of the vitality and usefulness of peaceful coexistence. This alone today enables productive cooperation on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect."

Oskar Fischer spoke of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers meeting that took place in Berlin early last week. "Berlin was the capital of a 'greater German Reich' 40 years ago, aggressive and exploding under the mighty blows of the armies and nations of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. It was the last bastion of the fascist hordes. The historical victory over fascism, dearly bought with the blood of 20 million Soviet people alone, and the deeds and sacrifices of the Belgians remain equally unforgettable for us, has made it possible for the people of Europe to live in peace for 4 decades now. Berlin was rebuilt from the ruins of World War II and is today the heart of the socialist German state, whose supreme principle was, is, and remains to do everything to prevent a new war from originating from German soil."

Oskar Fischer said: "It is necessary, Mr Minister, to find solutions and take concrete steps that contribute to dismantling the excessive weapons arsenals, establishing a climate of trust and predictability, particularly in Europe, and returning to constructive cooperation between states, cooperation which ensures peace. More weapons do not bring more security as the course of events in Europe shows. A prerequisite for reducing the risk of a political and military confrontation on our continent is serious political intentions and realism. War must be prevented.

Leo Tindemans praised East German-Belgian diplomatic relations and noted that since they had commenced, it has been the persistent concern of both countries to strengthen and expand them.

Bilateral relations are excellent and appear to him to have a promising future. This is shown by the number and quality of contacts through the years. "Our bilateral relations have steadily deepened and intensified during the course of these years, as shown by the legal links of all types established between our countries. Numerous agreements have been signed, including the consular agreement that came into force this April. Others are about to be signed and others are still being negotiated."

Dealing with the international situation, the minister said that both countries, despite different social systems and membership in different alliances, shared the same hope for security and lasting peace. "Our talks have shown the joint concern that a climate of detente and cooperation should be immediately reestablished in this part of the world."

Both countries could contribute on their level to furthering dialogue and negotiations with the aim of balanced disarmament, without which detente will be an illusion and dialogue will lack meaning. Certain signs confirm his view, Leo Tindemans said, "that the horizon for East-West climate is brightening." He quoted the announcement of the forthcoming resumption of talks between the Soviet Union and the United Stats which are preparatory to negotiations regarding the totality of questions of nuclear and space weapons. "And, finally, American Secretary of State Shultz and Soviet Foreign Ministry Gromyko have decided to meet on 7th and 8th January in Geneva." The Belgian Government has expressed its satisfaction with this in a government statement.

Belgium, too, has pursued the goal of guaranteeing the balance of forces on which peace rests. Efforts are required to reduce arms level to the lowest possible point through a policy of active negotiations. As cosignatory of the Helsinki Final Act, he believes that the path entered on is the only one that can secure true rapprochement and cooperation in Europe.

Meets With Honecker

LD112137 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received the Belgian minister of external affairs, Leo Tindemans, at the Council of State building.

Erich Honecker and Leo Tindemans assessed the development of bilateral relations so far as good. They agreed that it was possible to shape them further in a constructive manner and that this could help reverse the negative trends in the international situation.

During the talk, Erich Honecker stressed that in view of the complicated international situation, a constructive exchange of views based on reason and realism was of great importance. The European states have a special responsibility in the struggle for arms limitation, disarmament and detente. As a state situated on the dividing line between the two most powerful military coalitions, the GDR is fully aware of this responsibility, and together with its allies is doing everything possible to safeguard peace and make it more stable.

The program that the socialist states put forward for this, and which was emphatically reaffirmed by the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states, represented a realistic basis that made possible fruitful negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

Leo Tindemans said that in many questions concerning the safeguarding of peace, Belgium agreed with the GDR's position, for example, the desire to avert a nuclear inferno and the hope that the meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States will lead to positive results. His government was interested, through a multifaceted dialogue with Eastern and Western states, in contributing to better mutual understanding in order to prevent any further sharpening of the international situation, especially in Europe. The purpose of his visit is to continue the political talks which have been going on between Belgium and the GDR for some time and to help to further shape the mutually advantageous cooperation.

Erich Honecker conveyed best wishes to King Badouin. Taking part in the talk, which was held in a businesslike and open atmosphere, were the GDR foreign minister, Oskar Fischer, and the secretary of the Council of State, Heinz Eichler. Also present were the GDR's ambassador to Belgium, Heinz Hoffmann, and the Belgian charge d'affaires in the GDR, Michel Godfrind.

Meets With Stoph

LD120027 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2212 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec (AND) -- There is no sensible alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. This was stated by GDR Premier Willi Stoph and Belgian External Affairs Minister Leo Tindemans in Berlin on 11 December. During their talk, Stoph said that a political dialogue seeking results is especially important in view of the dangerous aggravation of the international situation. Realism and goodwill are needed to avert the looming danger of a nuclear holocaust, end the arms race, and initiate concrete steps toward diarmament. The GDR is aware of its historic and political responsibility and is doing everything possible to prevent the start of another war from German soil.

Tindemans welcomed the readiness of the Soviet Union and the United States to enter into new negotiations on nuclear and space weapons. He said it is important to create a political climate to facilitate concrete results in the field of disarmament and to make peace durable.

In the morning Tindemans visited Sanssouci Palace and Cecilienhof Palace in Potsdam where the Potsdam Agreement was signed. In the evening he attended a concert in the Schauspielhaus in Berlin.

GDR-USSR COOPERATION COMMISSION CONTINUES WORK

LD112211 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 11 Dec (ADN) -- The 35th meeting of the GDR-USSR joint governmental commission for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation continued on Tuesday.

The second day was dominated by reports on the implementation of government and ministerial agreements as well as discussions by specialist groups. In this work, the commission proceeded above all from the long-term program signed in October on cooperation between the two countries until the year 2000.

The chairmen of both sides of the commission, Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Aleksey Antonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy premier of the USSR, visited the main enterprise of the Umformtechnik combine, Erfurt, and the Plauen machine tool factory.

GDR-FRG TRADE UNION LEADERS DISCUSS RELATIONS

LD111125 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0914 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Bonn 11 Dec (ADN) -- Werner Heilemann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the National Executive Committee of the FDGB, and Ernst Breit, chairman of the DGB, exchanged views on the further development of relations between the GDR trade union federation, FDGB, and the FRG trade union federation on Monday in Bonn. The sides affirmed their desire to further develop their contacts in 1985 also in accordance with the agreements reached in February of this year. Ambassador Ewald Moldt, the head of the permanent mission of the GDR in the FRG participated in the meeting.

FDJ'S AURICH MEETS WITH FRG STUDENT LEADERS

LD112306 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1943 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 11 Dec (ADN) -- The first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Eberhard Aurich, met on Tuesday with a delegation of the National Executive of the Socialist Student Federation (SHB) of the FRG, led by its chairman, Harald Weinberg. Eberhard Aurich and Harald Weinberg concurred in noting the great responsibility of youth organizations from the states with different social orders to avert the danger of a nuclear inferno, halt the arms race, especially in the nuclear sphere, prevent the militarization of outer space, and achieve disarmament and a return to detente. A war must never again emanate from German soil. The forthcoming talks between the foreign ministers of the USSR and the United States at the beginning of January in Geneva would offer the Reagan administration the chance to prove through deeds its readiness for real negotiations, on the basis of equality and equal security on the whole complex of questions of nuclear and space weapons.

The two youth organizations want to do their utmost to bring about a change for the better in international relations. The preparation for the 12th world festival of the youth and students in Moscow in 1985 offers oustanding possibilities for this.

Eberhard Aurich informed Weinberg about the FDJ's initiatives in its Ernst-Thaelmann appeal. The GDR youth make an active contribution to safeguarding peace through personal deeds for the strengthening and protection of socialism.

Harald Weinberg said that he has closely observed the importance attached to the achievements of the GDR youth in the peace struggle and the possibilities available to young people for helping to shape socialist society. He stressed that the SHB was fighting to halt the stationing of missiles and to reduce the number of Pershing II and cruise missiles already stationed in West Europe. The unprecedented attack by the Kohl government on the rights of young workers and students was strongly opposed by the SHB.

TISCH MEETS WITH BELGIAN TRADE UNIONISTS

LD110019 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2243 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Brussels 10 Dec (ADN) -- Official talks opened in Brussels Monday evening between a FDGB delegation under its chairman Harry Tisch, SED Central Committee Politburo member, and a Belgian General Trade Union Federation (FGTB) delegation under its chairman Andre van den Broucke. The FDGB delegation arrived in Brussels Monday afternoon for a visit of several days. It is a return visit for the visit the FGTB chairman made to the GDR at the end of last year.

During the discussion at FGTB Headquarters in Brussels, they briefed each other on the activities of both countries' trade unions on behalf of the rights and interests of working people and their commitment to the struggle to preserve and secure peace.

Andre van den Broucke explained the Belgian political and economic situation and gave an account of the Belgian unions' struggle for the interests of the working people, above all to secure the jobs and purchasing power of the working population. He stressed the trade unions' responsibility in making an active stand for peace, detente, and disarmament and affirmed the FGTB's strong opposition to the proposed deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapons on Belgian soil.

Harry Tisch spoke of the diverse successful efforts GDR trade unionists are making to strengthen their state in every way and develop working conditions and living standards. He emphasized that GDR policy, directed to the well-being of the people and the cause of peace, will continue even under complicated international conditions.

STOPH RECEIVES EGYPTIAN TRADE, HOUSING MINISTERS

LD072248 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 7 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin 7 Dec (ADN) -- Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, today received Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, Egyptian minister of economy and foreign trade, and 'Abd al-Fattah Sidqi, minister for housing and utilities. They discussed mutually advantageous economic relations.

Willi Stoph assessed the bilateral, beneficial cooperation as a good example of peaceful international relations to the advantage of both peoples and as a contribution to the preservation of world peace. He confirmed the approach of the GDR, in the view of the tense world situation, that all possible efforts should be exerted to consolidate peace and exhaust opportunities to improve international relations. Referring to the situation in the Near and Middle East, Stoph expressed the GDR's support for the six point program of the USSR, which is in agreement with the peace plan of the Arab summit conference in Fes. During their visit of several days in the GDR, the Egyptian ministers met several ministers.

GDR Foreign Trade Minister Horst Soelle, and the Egyptian foreign trade minister signed agreements in Berlin on Friday on trade for 1985, which envisage a significant increase in shipments and services by each side. The GDR will supply, among other things, machines and equipment for industrial and agricultural enterprises and for the transportation and energy sectors, and will receive industrial and traditional Egyptian agricultural products. GDR Construction Minister Wolfgang Junker and Egyptian Housing Minister 'Abd al-Fattah Sidqi also signed an agreement on cooperation in the housing field.

HONECKER ATTENDS PREMIERE OF SOVIET FILM

LD112230 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1706 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec (ADN) -- Today the festive GDR premiere was held in Berlin of the Soviet documentary film "Marshal Zhukov," which is devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other public figures were given a warm welcome at the Kosmos cinema. The film was awarded the Golden Dove at the latest international festival of documentaries and short films in Leipzig.

FINLAND'S SORSA ON RESULTS OF TALKS, FUTURE TIES

LD112058 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] The Finnish prime minister has been a guest in our country since Sunday. Kalevi Sorsa gave a press briefing today in the Budapest Hilton Hotel on his visit to Hungary. Our correspondent, Eva Vertes, attended it:

The views of Finland and Hungary on international politics coincide considerably, economic relations are developing dynamically, and we are looking ahead in this sphere to new, even greater possibilities. If I had to sum up what Kalevi Sorsa said at his press conference this afternoon in one sentence, I believe that would express the essence accurately. However, it is undoubtedly worthwhile to recall some of his thoughts and conclusions in detail. Before he answered the journalists' questions the Finnish prime minister made a brief statement. He said that relations between our countries are not problem-free, but they really are friendly. His visit was extremely pleasant. His talks with Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi, and Gyorgy Lazar proved very useful; and it emerged from these talks that our views coincide considerably. We understand one another easily because the endeavors of Hungary and Finland are identical. He recalled that with Janos Kadar it was said that 1985 can be a year of decisive importance in the positive development of the international situation. Primarily there was discussion about economic relations at his talks with his Hungarian colleague, Gyorgy Lazar. It is interesting that in the 10 years since Finland concluded a so-called free trade agreement not only with the Common Market, but with the small European CEMA countries, including our country, the trade turnover between Budapest and Helsinki has tripled; that is, it has developed in identical proportion with the entire foreign trade growth of Finland. Besides all this, there are still many possibilities that can be utilized in the structure of turnover, in new spheres of economic cooperation, with its new forms. On this topic, Kalevi Sorsa announced that the establishment of a Finnish-Hungarian joint construction industry enterprise had just been agreed on; it will build a 200-bed hotel on the island of Csepel. The fact that other enterprises are also looking for new forms of cooperation was mentioned during the visit to Videoton electronics factory that the Finnish prime minister made this morning.

A colleague from Finnish radio preceded the correspondent of EVENING NEWSPAPER and asked the question which preoccupies so many of us: What is expected of the Soviet-American foreign ministerial talks, and was this mentioned here?

[Begin recording] [Sorsa in Finnish followed by Hungarian translation] We judged the foreign ministerial talks in Geneva to be a significant event; they can be encouraging for the future. We definitely welcome the process, answered the Finnish prime minister, and added: Regarding the role of the small countries, we are both realistic. International relations are determined by the relationship between the great powers, but the small countries can positively affect the atmosphere with their activity.

[Vertes at press conference] Eva Vertes from Hungarian radio. As far as I know, the Finnish Government wishes to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki conference next year in a deserving manner. Can we hear anything about the plans, preparations?

[Sorsa] We have made preliminary contact with all 35 countries and asked them at which level they envisage this consultation. We do not want a new Helsinki conference, but we wish to commemorate the anniversary at a significant political level. Its success depends on the extent to which the international processes in the first half of 1985 are positive. [end recording]

OFFICE SUBMITS INDICTMENT IN POPIELUSZKO CASE

LD111828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] The voivodship prosecutor's office in Torun has submitted to the local voivodship court the indictment in the case of kidnapping and killing of Father Jerzy Popieluszko. The indictment applies to Grzegorz Piotrowski, Leszek Pekala, Waldemar Chmielewski, and Adam Pietruszka. The prosecutor's office charges Piotrowski, Pekala, and Chmielewski of having abducted and killed Father Jerzy Popieluszko on the night of October 19-20, and of having attempted to kill Waldemar Chrostowski, Father Popieluszko's chauffuer. They have also been accused of having attempted to kill Jerzy Popieluszko on 13 October this year, on the road between Ostroda and Olsztynek. Adam Pietruszka has been charged with having prompted and helped the officials under his supervision to kidnap and kill Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

The indictment states that investigations are still underway to identify the possible instigators of these crimes. The prosecutor moved that 22 witnesses be interrogated by the court, together with a team of experts, and that the depositions of an additional 62 witnesses be read out during the trial. Sixteen volumes of files on the case, material evidence, and video cassettes and tapes that record the investigative experiments, interrogations, confrontations, autopsy, and other evidence gathering proceedings have been placed at the disposal of the voivodship court.

URBAN DISCUSSES CRUCIFIX PROTEST, OTHER ISSUES

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[Text] We now broadcast a report from the meeting between Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and foreign journalists:

Minister Jerzy Urban was asked at the beginning about General Wojciech Jaruzelski's upcoming visit to Czechoslovakia.

[Begin Urban recording] General Jaruzelski's visit, which is to take place shortly, is closely connected with the visit paid to Poland by the party and state delegation from Czechoslovakia, since the matters agreed upon in Warsaw will be continued during the talks in Prague. We consider cooperation between our countries to be very successful, good, and dynamic in its development. As a result of the visit by the Czechoslovak delegation at the end of November and the beginning of December last year, a timetable was drawn up for implementing the decisions reached at that time. It has recently been ascertained that their implementation is on schedule. Czechoslovakia is our second most important partner among the socialist countries, and last year the trade was restored to the highest level of the previous period. trade is increasing, relations are developing dynamically, and I think General Jaruzelski's working visit will give them a further stimulus. [end recording]

Several Western journalists then asked about the conflict over the crosses in Wloszczowa.

[Begin Urban recording] The Polish Constitution defines the state and church as separate. Things are similar in many countries with a modern legal and constitutional system.

This separation not only serves the proper functioning of the state, it is the foundation of the church's independence to fulfill its mission, promotes freedom of belief, and protects the activity of the church against state interference in matters of faith and in teaching. This separation between church and state serves well the interests of the church, which thus ought to respect this principle since it is in its own interest. The 1961 law on education lends specific form to the terms of the Constitution and states that state schools have a lay character.

The entire process of school education is secular. The church concerns itself with religious education in premises which are set apart, and enjoys ever improving conditions for the performances of its mission as well as complete independence, which in our opinion is beneficial to the church anyway. The government is not aware that these principles which serve as the basis for church and state education functioning are controversial. The church does not aim at changing them.

The state authorities believe that the secular character of schools finds expression in appropriate school interiors. There is a great wealth of places in Poland where one can freely display one's religious belief. Religious emblems are incompatible with the secular character of schools.

The ecclesiastical authorities voice a different view. Namely, they state that religious symbols on the walls do not alter the secular character of the institution. However, these symbols express the character of a particular institution. Moreover, interpretation of the laws is the domain of the relevant state authorities, not the ecclesiastical authorities. The attitude of the relevant bodies of state administration toward the interpretation of the secular character of schools is resolute and unchanging. There are times when conflicts involving crucifixes in schools arise today in Poland. We do not want these conflicts. We are not the ones who cause them. You Western correspondents, sirs, turn these conflicts into sensational issues and try to stir them up, as you do with all conflicts in Poland. Take the bourgeois French press, for instance. It despairs over the fact that it is forbidden to hang up crucifixes in Polish state schools, even though it is also forbidden to hang them up in French schools.

At the moment the Western press is passionately interested in the conflict that erupted in the vocational schools in Wloszczowa. This conflict emphatically confirms that the state's attitude toward the interpretation of the principle of the secular character of schools is correct. Against the background of the crucifix issue, conflict and division have occurred. Parents are divided: the young are divided. Unnecessary antagonisms are occurring in the school community. A destructive educational achievement [word indistinct] is incompatible with the virtue of tolerance, and it stirs up intolerance. Even if the majority of the young are believers, tolerance ought to be extended all the more to the minority, its convictions and (?services.) [end recording]

The Center for Public Opinion Research has carried out a survey on people's assessments of the government spokesman's statements. Minister Urban today presented the results of that poll. Here is an excerpt:

[Begin Urban recording] Great interest in press conferences was ascertained, because 80 percent of those polled declared a knowledge of the entire content of at least one press conference. On the other hand, assessments of my statements are not favorable. The statements by the spokesman were assessed positively by 44 percent of those polled; negatively by 50 percent.

I had thought that the approval for the content which I express was greater. After all, it is not linked with personal statements, but with present government policy. I suppose that the way of presenting many issues disrupts a favorable reception of their content, so I will try to analyze the results of the poll in detail. [end recording]

Urban was then asked if the government intends to take action against employees of higher education establishments who do not hide their antigovernment opinions. This was the next question answered by Jerzy Urban.

[Begin Urban recording] It is not the government's intention to take steps against what you call the opposition in the higher education system. On the other hand, the state authorities will take steps against those activities by anyone in higher education which conflict with the goals and functioning of higher education, with the goals of a given college, or which hamper educational upbringing and academic policy. This obviously is completely necessary if colleges are to fulfill their social mission. We are also opposed, of course, to activity not linked with the life of the college which is political activity outside the workings of the law, for which sometimes colleges, or the position of a given person in a college, may be exploited. [end recording]

Further in the conference, Minister Jerzy Urban said that people who do not agree with the government have an opportunity to take action in Poland. They must, however, stand on the basis of the Constitution and not carry on activity weakening the state. As has become traditional, the government spokesman took a stance on some Western publications concerning Poland. Here is an example:

[Begin Urban recording] I want to note the content of a fairly interesting correction in an interview Father Malkowski gave to French radio, which was extremely worried about those crosses in the schools, among other things. Father Malkowski denies that he said communism was a whore; instead, he asserts he said that communism was a drunken Soviet whore [laughter from the press], referring to the apocalyptic image of the great harlot, drunk on the blood of the saints, sitting on a red beast. End of quotation from French radio. I wanted to typify by this example both the opposition which you (?are so interested in), as well as to present yet again what sort of texts are being peddled by French radio. I don't know whether the French Communist Party will be delighted that the French state radio presents this kind of view about communism, or whether it is in accordance with good manners and political culture in France. In Poland, it isn't. [end recording]

Minister Jerzy Urban also reported that the indictment against the murderers of Father Jerzy Popieluszko was lodged with the voivodship court in Torun today. He also said that the trial of this case will perhaps begin before the end of the year.

AFP: WALESA SPEAKS ON CRUCIFIX MATTER

NC111919 Paris AFP in English 1857 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11 (AFP) -- Nobel Peace Prize winner Lech Walesa pledged today that he and his followers "will not allow the authorities to take our crucifixes" as some 400 students entered the ninth day of a sit-in to protest at the removal of their crucifixes.

Meanwhile, the Polish Government warned that it would be "unshifting" in its opposition to the presence of crucifixes on classroom walls.

Mr Walesa, former leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, said "I cannot imagine being able to work myself in a workshop where there was no crucifix."

A former member of Solidarity's national leadership, Seweryn Jaworski, urged the Polish people to show their support for the students in the central town of Wlosczcowa by "hanging or pinning crosses in schools, factories, and offices where Christians work."

Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban told a news conference today that the state was "entirely within its rights" to remove crosses from public places.

FRG CRITICIZED ON 1970 TREATY ANNIVERSARY

AU101224 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Dec 84 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "A Foundation for Normalization"]

[Text] This year's anniversary of the signing of the treaty on normalizing relations between the PPR and the FRG on 7 December 1970 in Warsaw occurrs during a rather odd period in relations between the two countries. After several years of stagnation, and in certain spheres even a halt to normalization, the Bonn government is declaring its readiness to commence dialogue with Poland anew, and yet at the same time is creating pretexts to delay this dialogue or keep it at its lowest possible level. The question arises: To what extent is this caused by tactical considerations, and to what extent by strategic ones?

Today, on its anniversary, one should recall what the attitude of the currently ruling CDU and that of its Bavarian sister, the CSU, toward this treaty once was. This party violently opposed the treaty with Poland up to the very last moment, and the change in its stance which permitted the treaty's ratification (the SPD and FDP did not have a satisfactory majority in the Bundestag), was brought about by all parties' adoption of the so-called Entschliessung, in other words Bundestag resolution, which questioned the treaty's final recognition of the Odra and Nysa border. In the end, 248 deputies from the SPD-FDP government coalition voted for the treaty, 17 CDU deputies voted against it, and the remainder of CDU and CSU deputies abstained from voting. In other words the CDU, permitting the treaty's ratification, tried at the same time to limit its meaning to an agreement on nonuse of force and on seeking some kind of modus vivendi.

In 1982, the West German Christian Democrats once more assumed power after 13 years in opposition. Helmut Kohl became chancellor of the CDU/CSU-FDP government coalition. Unfortunately, we are forced to say after 2 years of his administration that despite the frequently repeated formula "pacta sunt servanda" (treaties should be adhered to), his government and party have to this very day not accepted the treaty in its reality.

Yet this is the only possible foundation for dialogue and cooperation between our states and societies.

In the meantime, the FRG Government wants to recognize as the foundation for normalization not the treaty itself, with its unequivocal Article 1, but Bonn's one-sided view of this treaty as expressed in the above mentioned Bundestag resolution and in the statement by the Federal Constitutional Tribunal whereby the German Reich still exists in a legal sense, and within its 1937 borders.

The consequences inherent in such a statement are not at all merely theoretical or relate to some mythical past, but directly affect in a negative way People's Poland's interests and those of its citizens (examples of this are numerous), and in addition poison once again the minds of FRG society with revisionist slogans.

We are, of course, aware that the abovementioned interpretive documents are binding on all forces in the Bundestag in a formal sense, including the SPD. However, the difference between the previous and present government is based on the fact that the SPD did not use these revisionist thoughts as an instrument of political action, either against Poland or its own public, whereas today, certain ministers in Chancellor Kohl's government are stressing in various ways the provisional nature of Poland's western border and are giving revisionist aims an air of political ethics. As a result, the present government has given a new political value to revisionism.

All of this leads to the question: What are the real aims of the Christian Democrats in the FRG, and what do they want in relations with Poland?

The point, of course, is really not to alter the Polish-German border, because the entire might of the Warsaw Pact is guarding it. The point can only be to manipulate West German public opinion and impart to it a disliking of People's Poland. This clashes completely with the letter and spirit of the agreement on normalizing relations.

That is why on the anniversary of this agreement, it should be clearly called to mind that the purpose and content of this treaty possess a value that far exceeds our bilateral relations. By signing the treaty, both our states removed in effect one of the most difficult obstacles to the signing of the CSCE Final Act, apart from the question of FRG-GDR relations. Today, some people on the Rhine dream of rebuilding this obstacle, this time with the help of legal loopholes.

The day before yesterday, the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG justly reminded its readers of General W. Jaruzelski's words whereby our dialogue with the FRG loses its purpose when FRG representatives maintain their desire or even demands to rectify the effects of the war they lost. The German Riech lost World War II finally and irreversibly. Whether Bonn likes it or not, the treaty on the normalization of PPR-FRG relations will go down in history as a document which has defined for good the territorial result of the lost World War II and the German aggression against Poland.

But this treaty does not only deal with borders. Recognition of it creates a basis for multilateral normalization processes both at government level and in social contacts. In this latter area we achieved an unusually large amount working together in the seventies. We even achieved a historic breakthrough, though there is still a long way to go before full normalization is achieved, in other words the kind of relations that already exist between Poland and other West European countries.

We are ready to continue this work, this time with the CDU/CSU-FDP government, and take advantage of the SPD's support and desire for accord with Poland, but only on the basis of the treaty.

After 2 years of government, the Christian Democrats in Bonn should realize that revisionist pressure against Poland leads nowhere, both in bilateral relations with Warsaw and in the entire so-called "Ostpolitik."

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES EASTERN, WESTERN JOURNALISTS

AU070500 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Dec 84 pp 3-5

["Transcript" of replies given to journalists by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 28 November, following the Jablonna-5 3-day conference of Eastern and Western journalists in Jablonna]

[Text] Marian Podkowinski [chairman of Jablonna-5 conference]: Let me introduce the international journalists who have taken part in our conference in Jablonna for 3 days. Our colleagues include representatives of 26 European and North American countries, representing the press, radio, and television. We have finished the conference today, and I wish to thank the premier for finding time to meet with us. We know that our colleagues have addressed a series of questions to you and expect answers to them.

W. Jaruzelski: I will take advantage of the fact that there are still photographers and cameramen working here, giving our talk an informal nature, in order to express my sincere satisfaction with the possibility of today's meeting. At the same time I will permit myself a light-hearted disgression. I know that there are several journalists in the hall whom I know. In particular, Mrs Hella Pick is present, who displayed undoubtable courage in coming to Poland during matial law and, what is more, arranged a meeting with the "cannibal" and "head of the junta" himself. I believe our talk at that time was honest and pleasant. I wish to thank her for her objective and honest reporting. I think that our meeting today, involving a wider group of journalists, will also be bilaterally favorable. I desire this very much. Perhaps one more remark: I do not know whether you realize, ladies and gentlemen, that we are meeting in a beautiful old palace from the 17th century. But that is probably not the most important fact about it. The Warsaw Pact was signed in 1955 in this hall, a pact which, we are deeply convinced, serves the cause of peace in Europe and the world.

That was just a short introduction to enable the radio and television people to make use of their time.

M. Podkowinski: I wish to thank all the radio and television colleagues and would like to ask them to leave the hall so that the premier may answer the questions that have been addressed to him in a calm atmosphere.

W. Jaruzelski: Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! I warmly welcome you here in Warsaw at our meeting in the Council of Ministers building. I am pleased to be able to meet such a representative body of Eastern and Western journalists who have been brought to Poland by a feeling of concern over the dangerous state of international relations.

The Jablonna-5 meeting has a long and useful tradition. Such a form of dialogue, unrestricted exchange of views, seeking of agreement, and converging conclusions and assessments, is most essential today in the face of mounting threats. I received numerous questions from you -- about 40. These cover an extremely broad range of subjects.

For obvious reasons, due to their content I cannot reply extensively within the allotted time. Allow me then to reply collectively, or shall we say to synthesize. First I would like to ask you to understand that what I say should not be seen as a form of agitation, a propaganda attempt to attract participants at the meeting to our side; here I have in mind representatives of Western journalism.

I consider our meeting to be a form for dialogue and accord, a process aimed first at understanding the views and arguments of the other side; but it can only take place if we all recognize certain supreme, common purposes, including the need to save peace.

The UNESCO constitutional act states in very strong words that wars originate first in the human mind; thus the human mind must do everything possible to prevent war.

Perhaps I should begin the international portion of questions by replying to Editor Kamenev from the Soviet international affairs weekly NOVOYE VREMYA.

Comrade Editor, your question is as follows: In connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism in which the Polish Army took part with weapons in hand, and victory was achieved by a coalition of states with different social and political systems, supported by national antifascist resistance movements, we would like to ask: How do you assess the lessons resulting from the common struggle against Hitler's fascism; what conclusions do you draw from them in relation to the current situation in the world, threatened by the danger of a nuclear catastrophe?

Such a question also inspires a purely personal reflection. Let me share it. As a young Polish Army officer, I took part in that war; I covered thousands of kilometers, from central Russia, through Belorussia, the Ukraine, through my fatherland, the Polish land, up to the Elbe.

In the same place where your deliberations took place in Jablonna, I spent the freezing night of 16-17 December 1945, when the 2d Division in which I was serving was preparing for the attack to liberate Warsaw, in the park and the palace, which was very seriously damaged at that time. As I recall, some faint fires were burning. In the hall where you were deliberating, there was probably a medical station for the wounded. And I reflect: How much had to change in Europe to make possible today's deliberations on preventing a war catastrophe, which are taking place on the former site of the front line of the great offensive.

Poland was in that war longer than any other country, from its very beginning to its very end. It suffered proportionately the largest losses in life and materials. Warsaw was Europe's only capital that was razed to the ground. Despite such terrible destruction and loss of life, our people set up an army that was fourth in size among the anti-Hitlerite armies. Toward the end of the war the Polish troops in the east and the west numbered some 600,000 soldiers. It is also worth noting that Poland never produced a Quisling, Petain, Degrelle, or other such person during the Hitlerite occupation. It is only against this background that one can comprehend what is often termed abroad as our oversensitivity. No one will be able to erase from our awareness what the Hitlerite onslaught and World War II brought down upon us. If that war had lasted a few years longer, and if the Soviet Army, 600,000 soldiers of which fell on our soil, had not liberated us, there would have been no Jablonna conference today. Let us also guess what kind of Europe and world would exist today.

Are the lessons of World War II really indelible? To answer this question unambiguously is not easy, especially in view of the current tense international situation. Those who fell and were murdered and shot dead are still a vivid memory. But do all politicians really want to preserve this memory? The facts mentioned at this conference suggest that they do not.

Well, what can we do, regardless of the differences in the political systems, ideologies, views, beliefs, and class interests, to remove the danger of nuclear war?

I think that there is only one, very short answer to this dramatic question: realism. Many wars in history started only because one side erroneously assessed the other side's ability to resist and its will to endure. One ought to constantly remind the cold war circles, including economic and propaganda war circles and in particular the supporters of crusade and confrontation and the authors of military doctrines assuming and considerating the use of nuclear weapons, about that experience.

Another question is directly associated with this subject, this time from an IZVESTIYA commentator. It reads: For a long time Poland has been fighting not only for normalization of the situation in central Europe and the development of good-neighborly relations in this region, but it has presented proposals for transforming this region into a nonnuclear zone. What obstacles, in your opinion, would make it impossible to achieve the proposed goals? What do you propose to do in order that today's tensions in central Europe might be replaced by the development of good-neighborly relations and economic cooperation useful to all sides?

I am glad this kind of question has been asked today. It concerns the essence, the deepest essence of our foreign policy; not merely stated, but consistently implemented for 40 years. This is universally known. Poland, primarily since the midfufties, has been exerting great efforts and striving hard for accord in a divided Europe. The Rapacki Plan -- as I understand it, this is the initiative referred to -- did not, unfortunately, meet with understanding. It envisaged, and I would like to recall this, many detailed proposals that were pioneering for that time. Today, in connection with the appearance of satellite reconnaisance, they are to a great extent out of date. At the time, however, Poland's proposal showed what can be called political imagination. Unfortunately, the history of the Rapacki Plan, which stretches back over more than a quarter of a century now, and of the so-called Gomulka Plan, is a history of lost opportunities; I say this with bitterness. We received many words of recognition, but there was nothing specific. Poland never retreated from the Rapacki Plan. After almost 3 decades it still bears fruit in the form of many valuable initiatives. It has taken on a real shape in the Tlatelolco Treaty. It is the discussed problem of the day in Scandinavia and the Balkans. I thus reply to the Bulgarian journalist as well. Strategically, I would say even more that the historic mistake by the West in rejecting the Polish initiatives of the time, is more and more evident today. After all, one can easily imagine today's situation in Europe if the initiatives, not only by Poland but by the other socialist countries made at the end of the fifties, had been implemented. We would be living in a better, safer world. Probably no one has any doubts about who rejected that plan. We remember that in this respect a particular role was played by Chancellor Adenauer. He influenced his Western allies to reject the plan on the pretext of nonrecognition of the GDR. Well, in the end it did not hurt the GDR: our western neighbor and friend is today a recognized member of international life, but the opportunity for making central Europe nonnuclear has been lost.

As a result, Europe's military situation is far more ominous than 25 years ago. This is particularly because of NATO's so-called two-track decision of 1979, which demands a new approach and a look at the issue of nuclear-free zones from a different angle. Of course, all efforts to heal the European situation are essential and should be undertaken. We believe this goal is encouraged by the declaration signed by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Prague, which fully retains its validity, and also by the numerous initiatives proposed by our side, including the latest speeches by Konstantin Chernenko.

The questions sent to me include one from an FRG journalist, Mr Woerdchoff, about the role of medium-sized European states.

I believe this role is unsatisfactory at present. However, it is not the socialist community that is restricting the role of medium-sized countries. Let us recall the spirit of Geneva 1955, or even better, Helsinki. It is the medium-sized and small countries that played a significant role there. Poland has always been particularly energetic in assuming the responsibilities stemming from the above meetings. The Final Act was signed by 35 governments. Hence there is still room for joint, bilateral, or multilateral initiatives. What are most needed today are real steps, even if they are small ones. As far as Poland is concerned, then, we are ready to return to our traditional role, preserving full realism. There is no doubt that Poland's place in the socialist community and Europe permits and facilitates this task.

Mr Salinger, I have learned, had to leave the conference, but he asked a question which I will endeavor to answer: Am I an optimist or a pessimist with regard to a return to serious negotiations? Well, I would answer that I am both. Perhaps I should begin with why I am pessimistic, so that I can end on an optimistic note. I am pessimistic because in the information obtainable in Poland one cannot as yet see symptoms indicating a correction of the armament objectives, and programs of the United States first and foremost. These are realities, material realities which count. It is also difficult to see any essential qualitative changes in the thinking of the present American Administration.

It seems to me that it is elated by election victory and probably thinks that the American century has begun, with all its consequences and results. Thus, it is not in this sense a favorable forecast, but it seems to me that one should recall here that no calculations on unilaterally changing the balance of forces -- disturbing the equilibrium -- have a chance to succeed. I am not an attorney for the Soviet Union; I think the Soviet Union does not need attorneys, but I know that country and my own country sufficiently well, and I would like to stress that certainly none of our countries will allow itself to be thrown to its knees. Suffice it to recall that all types of new arms were always introduced by the United States; only later did the Soviet Union right the imbalance. I do not have to make a list; these things are well known, starting with atomic weapons in the form of multiple-warhead missiles, cruise missiles, etc. As we know, the Soviet Union has been righting the imbalance and will continue to do so; if somebody thinks that it can be otherwise he is undoubtedly wrong, and here I pass to the second part of the question: Why am I optimistic? I am optimistic for the very reason that such forces, such a defense potential, exist and have been effectively fulfilling an essentially peaceful role for 40 years now. I am an optimist because strong peace movements exist which should not be ignored; peace movements which, as we recall, have twice already had an important influence on a specific course of events, in connection with the war in Korea and in Vietnam. And above all I believe in the strength of humanity's instinct for self-preservation, including the great American people, all peoples, in the existing and, I think, spreading trend of realistic thinking. I think it appropriate at this juncture to express sincere recognition to all participants in this conference who, by their participation, activeness, and honesty, confirm this assessment and show that powerful intellectual and moral forces exist, represented by eminent journalists, who regardless of the often fundamental differences in their views and world outlooks, stand on the same side of the barricade: the peace side.

As for American-Soviet negotiations, it is quite obvious that all of us are interested in their success. We know that the result of these negotiations will be very important for world peace and are aware of the responsibility of these two superpowers for mankind's destiny.

I think that we can express the wish to the governments of both superpowers that the negotiations which have been announced should not swell the list of unfulfilled expectations. I would like to dwell a bit more on American topics, or a bit longer, for it is very important for us. Mr Salinger asks whether I would like to say something to Americans regarding our mutual relations. Well, unfortunately, not much of what I do have to say is new. Our arguments and position were set out in the note of 3 November last year, in more than 300 pages documenting our relations over the past years, in a special white paper which has been published, our position was set out with precision in the editorial article in TRYBUNA LUDU of 20 September 84.

I am afraid that these documents are not likely to be familiar to American readers -- nor, for that matter, to most Western readers or certain officials. In any case we do not know whether they are familiar with them. This is because the United States has thought fit to introduce the strange habit of failing to reply to notes. This practice is none too encouraging, since, in the words of an old American joke: If you want your daughter to marry Rockefeller, you must have Rockefeller's consent.

The American Administration is mistaken in its view that Poland can simply be crossed out. Perhaps the past few years have proved convincingly enough that such calculations are futile. Speaking on Soviet television last year, I said that the United States -- that is to say, the administration -- is a slow learner indeed. It took the United States 16 years to recognize the USSR; 25 years to recognize the GDR; 30 years to recognize the PRC. Eleven years passed before it dawned on them that it was impossible to defeat the Vietnamese people.

I am convinced that no matter how long it takes, it will also be necessary to learn about Poland too. Let us hope this is done as soon as possible, since no one really gains anything from our present state of relations.

I have received the following question from Comrade Igor Melnikov from PRAVDA: The U.S. Administration continues to maintain that the discriminatory sanctions were adopted by Washington for the good of the Polish people. How far is this true? What are the real results of sanctions? What benefits have they produced?

We do not deny that these sanctions have strongly affected the material conditions of our people, including those citizens who are not overenthusiastic about our state. Nor do we deny that sanctions continue to hinder our efforts to improve our economy. However, no matter how paradoxical this may sound, we have greatly benefited by these sanctions; they have made us wiser.

Public polls continue to indicate that our people have gotten rid of many naive illusions. We have learned to rely more on ourselves. But the most important benefit is that we have been able to go over to a more intense economic cooperation and integration with our socialist partners. I once said that if there were a medal of merit to be awarded for services to CEMA, it should have been awarded to President Reagan first, because there is hardly anyone who could equal him in bringing home to the socialist countries that they must cooperate even more closely and intensively.

The sanctions have also taught us that we must be very careful about all kinds of agreements, which can be revoked for any reason at all. At the same time, practice has confirmed that it is not only the ideological considerations that naturally bring us closer to the socialist countries, but that these countries are reliable and steady partners who do not change their policies overnight.

They are partners who, regardless of whether they like things in Poland to a greater or lesser extent, respect our sovereign right to solve our own problems in line with our own specific conditions and needs on the basis of the universal laws of the system. This gives us support and, above all, a sense of certainty in the face of tasks before us.

Now I wish to answer Mrs Hella Pick's question on the connection between the lifting of U.S. sanctions and some issues of the Polish penal law. But let me first say something.

It seems that the United States is experiencing, let us say, a "second youth" which is slightly dangerous. I wish to recall that 25 years ago, President J. Kennedy told his follow countrymen -- which Mr Salinger no doubt remembers best of all -- that the United States contain only 6 percent of the world's population, and one should not expect that the remaining 94 percent will necessarily accept American political, economic, and ideological solutions. Having said this, I can briefly answer the question put to me. I do not recall Poland making its relations with the United States dependent on the release of Pastor Douglas Roth, who was recently arrested inside a church and imprisoned for speaking out on workers' rights. Neither do we in Warsaw demand the observance of human rights in Paraguay, Guatemala, or El Salvador as a prerequisite for improved relations with the United States. So much concerning these matters. In case you are interested in further details, and there really are many of them, please ask INTERPRESS, which has at its disposal a rich variety of documents in the chief languages. Everything is clearly expressed, argumented, and documented in these papers.

A rather sizeable batch of questions which I have received involves various matters connected with the range of problems in our relations with both German states. Many politicians and journalists mention the so-called German problem. I do not propose to link it with the questions asked here, since they have not been put in this form. However, attempts are still being made to warm up the German problem like -- do pardon the comparison -- a stale dish in a cheap restaurant. For the past 40 years our problem in this matter has remained the same. The German problem was resolved in a historical dimension not by the powers of the victorious coalition, but by Adolf Hitler. He obliterated 70 years of achievements of the united German nation and he turned the unification slogan itself into something which all European nations must fear -- and certain governments too, although not all of them admit it. I am here speaking of practically all nations on the continent, since the neutral countries also suffered as a result of the pan-Germanic madness of the Third Reich.

If today we hear some FRG politicians, such as Mr Dregger, say that it is not the murderer but the murdered who is guilty, then please do not be suprised that each and every Pole hears alarm bells ringing.

One of the questions deals, among other things, with the problem of a peace conference on Germany. I think that 40 years after the unconditional capitulation of the Third Reich, the matter is no more topical and urgent than examining the results of Napoleon's wars. I do not think that any sober-minded person thinks such a conference possible. And to tell you the truth, I do not really believe that anyone is genuinely eager to have a conference of this kind.

A commentator from GDR television, touching on my recent talks with Erich Honecker, asks about the significance of Poland's relations with the GDR. These relations are good and friendly. They stand out by mutual trust. We are fully conscious of the GDR's historic achievement in shaping qualitatively new relations between our two nations. It was precisely the GDR which implemented the last will of the German antifascists who were the first in Europe to fall victim to Hitlerite terror.

During the same years that Conrad Adenauer wore the garb of the Teutonic knights -- and we had the occasion to come up against this particular form of Germanic expansion a few hundred years ago -- Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, and Otto Grotewohl explained to their fellow countrymen the necessity for genuine reconciliation between the working people of our two nations.

At that time the GDR signed the Zgorzelec Treaty with Poland. The treaty's 35th anniversary will be celebrated next year. It is one of the cornerstones of the European postwar generation.

A few questions dealt with the visit of Genscher, federal minister of foreign affairs and vice chancellor, which was postponed at the last moment. Such questions should really be directed to him, because, after all, it was not we who postponed the visit. Nor would I like to comment on the many consecutive reversals which the Bonn government's so-called Eastern policy has suffered. The Federal Republic is surely aware of what is in its interests. We in Poland favor dialogue with the Federal Republic of Germany.

This is all the more so since a fair number of problems have accumulated in our bilateral relations. There is also the potential and, in my firm view, the need to considerably expand our economic and general cooperation, to improve our relations on the basis of principles adopted in the jointly signed treaty of December 1970, which was so fruitful for some years.

We think that Vice Chancellor Genscher, whose many speeches on the international scene stand out because of their considerable realism and because of his understanding of many Polish fears and arguments, would be a very valued and appropriate partner for talks on more general matters. It is with this thought that we have been waiting and preparing for the visit.

At the same time I should like to emphasize that it is a question of political choice of whether socialist Poland and its government are regarded as a temporary or passing phenomenon, or is the only possible partner. There is no doubt whatever that only the second possibility applies.

There is simply no other Poland, nor will there be; it is as simple as that. However, we emphasize our readiness to have a constructive dialogue on the basis of principles recognized in all international politics, on the basis of realism and a precise examination of opportunities for the future.

There is also a question of whether any important Polish visit to Bonn can be expected. I do not know; I simply do not know.

Our relations with the Federal Republic are not based on the intricacies of the intra-party power play in that country. We are ready at any time to receive here any politician from the Federal Republic who will show goodwill and a desire to understand our arguments and realism, just as other West German politicians who visited Poland over the past few years and months did.

Likewise, there are no obstacles to sending a Polish envoy of appropriately high rank to Bonn, but not so that he can drink a glass of Rhine wine, incidentally an excellent wine. It seems that the time has now come to talk not of the irreversible past, but of the future.

In several of the questions put to me, doubts were raised as to whether Poland's emergence from so-called international isolation would be interrupted. Let me start by saying that Poland's isolation is a concept of several, or a dozen or so Western states. We have continuously maintained working contacts with neutral countries.

We have not experienced any isolation whatsoever with regard to the absolute majority of developing countries. Quite the contrary, our cooperation with these countries has been developing very actively all along. Ask whether we have been isolated, for instance, by India, Brazil, Nigeria, or dozens of other countries. Neither do I have to justify our relations with the allied countries during this period. Thus, I think that such a question is slightly misplaced. As always, we are ready for dialogue and broad cooperation because we need this. However, it is quite simply unrealistic to think that Poland will make concessions to obtain kind treatment.

Let me remind you that apart from recent diplomatic visits of which you are aware, I have also had the opportunity to meet and conduct long talks with such international representatives as UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, the UNESCO director general, as well as many other personalities. Thus, what sort of isolation are we talking about? We do not, of course, cover up the fact that our international circumstances have deteriorated; it would not show we were serious and would not be objective. Compared to the seventies, this is so. They have deteriorated in the same way as our internal situation, the state of our economy, and the ongoing process of the normalization of sociopolitical life have deteriorated. But Poland has not been, is not, and will not be a pariah of international society. We say this with total dignity.

Poland's history is linked multifariously with the development of European civilization. In the same way as every nation we have sought our opportunities in progress, in new ideologies, and in solutions based on a particular political system. There was a time when progress came to us from the West; the ideals of the French Revolution or of the revolution of 1848 were immediately reflected in the thoughts and actions of enlightened Poles. Even then it was understood that an independent Poland was needed by Europe to the same extent as a Europe in solidarity with Poland was needed by us. However, at the turn of the century it became more clear that the directions of ideology were changing. The big turning point -- the social revolution and the construction of a new system -- was based on the strength of the achievements of the worldwide workers movement, of the political left, and of social progress. Do not think that our deep-rooted and authentic adherence to the socialist system can hinder development of cooperation, which is carried out on the principles of equality and mutual advantage with all countries, irrespective of their political systems.

Everyone with a sober view of the world will, I think, grant to us that a state cannot exist in a vacuum. We have, in point of fact, experienced such periods. Neither can one separate the fate of our nation from the transformations that have taken place in our era.

There is a bitter anecdote dating back to the beginning of the century which I think is not very well known abroad, but which has reached the status of a saying here in Poland. This is how it goes: A teacher at an international school asked for an essay on elephants. A French pupil wrote about love among elephants; a German pupil wrote about the possibilities of using elephants for industrial purposes; a British pupil depicted the role of elephants in the export of tea. The subject of the Polish essay was as follows: An Elephant and the Polish Matter. Thus, nowadays we are trying not to view our problems from a purely Polish point of view, but to assess them soberly and to reason things out in a level-headed way. I think that the road we are following and the policies we are carrying out invariably back this up. Going back to the definition of the "Polish matter," it must be stressed that the greatest service rendered by our generation, the present generation, the generation of the Polish left wing, has been to get rid of this matter, the Polish matter, which for 150 years was embedded like a bleeding wound in European politics. Thus there is no Polish matter in the diplomatic sense in the same way as there is no German matter, or the problem of Lorraine, Klaipeda, the Balkans, or the Turkish straits.

Our 37 million-strong country, in the center of Europe, can play the role of either a peace stabilizer or, on the contrary, can be a trouble spot. I think that it is not only in our interests that Poland should be a stable country, because its being so contributes to stability and peaceful cooperation on the continent and also on a wider scale.

I also wish to draw your attention to some more direct issues of our domestic situation which continue to attract great interest. I know that it is a friendly interest on your part. One of the U.S. lady journalists -- I am sorry I cannot remember her name -- said that our domestic situation is now worse than it was 4 years ago. How does she know that this is really so? Are the people she talked to about our situation sufficiently credible? How can she explain the fact that some 75 percent of our electorate voted for the new people's councils? I ask this lady to watch our May Day parade, which this year was attended by some 8 million citizens. I could cite more examples and arguments.

Of course, this does not mean that we regard our reality in an exaggeratedly optimistic, that is, naive and unrealistic, way. What is more, we know of no party, government, or other influential institutions that would conduct such a severe and profound self-criticism of their policies and activities as we are doing. We are not bent on embellishing our reality, because such embellishments produce bitter dissapointment and even acute conflicts sooner or later. We know all about this. We take the view that in the past few difficult years we have achieved tangible progress in improving our economy, promoting national agreement, and regenerating social energy, which we need so much for our country's development.

Western journalists do not appreciate and often even pooh-pooh a social structure such as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. This is a serious error, because PRON is a cause of all our people: it rallies people and communities with divergent views, and attests to what extensive efforts we are making to win over for accord all the Poles who care for the overriding interests of their people and country. It would be interesting to know whether you know that Jan Dobraczynski, who is the most prominent Polish Catholic writer and whose books have been translated into many foreign languages, is in charge of PRON. He was an officer in the 1939 defensive war and was an active member of the wartime resistance movement in Poland linked to the London government in exile. Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski was his personal friend. This example, which could be regarded as almost a symbol, shows what great dimensions we see in national agreement and how consistent we are in promoting it.

Against this background I wish once again to stress that the West's greater understanding of our intentions would be of crucial importance for us. Or at least if the West would stop interfering with us. What we want to do is solve by ourselves our complicated problems, which are becoming increasingly more tractable all the same. We want to do this in our own interests.

I wish to give my views on one of the questions put by a Hungarian journalist which refers to the possible effects of Poland's withdrawal from the ILO. Well, I shall again reply in the form of a joke by saying that the effects will be the same as if the moon could fall. When the United States left the ILO in 1975, and reminded itself of this 5 years later, no one somehow seemed to notice or said that it was a catastrophe. Why does this engender such commotion in our case? The ILO is no one's private property and cannot be a self-appointed tribunal. If the present leadership of the ILO thinks it possible to carry out the recommendations of only one country or of a group of countries then it must expect to shoulder the consequences of such a policy.

A reply to this question obligates one in a natural way to say a few words on the subject of the trade unions in Poland. As is well known they now have almost 5 million members. Thus, they account for 40 percent of those employed in the national economy. This is proportionally twice as much as trade union membership in the United States.

Recently, on the initiative of trade union members, a new form was created -- the national congress. To those of you who ask why there is only one such new congress, I would like to give a reply by asking the question of why, for instance, is there only one central trade union organization in the FRG. Are we the only ones for whom some special expectations and harsh conditions are required? I would not like to give more prominence to the Polish trade unions because they say enough about themselves. They really do act in an indepentent and self-governing manner. And I will openly say, as the premier, that we have lots of difficult and sharp discussions which express the resolve of the trade unions to fulfill their function of defending the interests of the working people.

A matter that we know has aroused a great deal of interest and even outrage recently, not only in Poland but outside it, is the murder of Father Popieluszko. Mrs Flora Lewis of THE NEW YORK TIMES asks me pointedly what I think of the motives and political consequences of this killing, saying that there are various kinds of speculations about the direct and indirect perpetrators.

Well, I can quote the opinion of certian Western circles who have already discovered the perpetrator. For example, French radio has recently said that the London Institute of Communist Studies in Keston College "does not rule out General Jaruzelski's personal involvement in the killing of Father Popieluszko." A neutral way of presenting the entire case to society is used by British researchers as a pointer. The institute possesses evidence that "security service functionaries acted not only with General Jaruzelski's knowledge, but also with his support." This is being broadcast by an official radio station of a country that maintains diplomatic relations with Poland and says that these relations ought to be improved -- which by the way we also say.

There are no holds barred in a propaganda war, not even nasty holds like the one which I have just described. Were it not for the fact that opinions about my person are involved, I could express myself more succinctly. However, I will disappoint the authors of the above revelation and recall quite simply some of the circumstances once again.

There is no doubt that all people with the slightest common sense and goodwill have noticed with what determination and energy the Polish authorities approached the murder, and with what determination and energy they have conducted the entire operation aimed at revealing the perpetrators, and are still doing so. They are not doing so because someone abroad desires such a conduct, but first, because this suits our ethical and legal code, and second, because the interests and needs of our state, which has suffered great damage because of this scandalous act, require it. Neither is anyone more interested in clearing up all the mysteries and doubts in this case than we are. For every such doubt will be inflated and used against the Polish authorities.

The investigations have been completed, the indictment is being prepared, and the case will probably reach the courts in December. Questions are still being asked as to who the perpetrators are. We still do not know. The search is still on. But if the trial fails to answer this question, neither will we be able to "invent" the perpetrators. I believe that a person threatened with the supreme measure of justice who has received inspiration or instructions from someone else should reveal this fact, in his own interests.

To sum up, there is no doubt that objectively speaking this act has caused our political line, and therefore the interests and prestige of the socialist state, a great amount of damage. However, how far this act was dictated by a desire to perform this damage remains open to further investigation.

Many of your questions concern state-church relations. Let me say first of all that the Catholic Church includes its hierarchy, the clergy, and millions and millions of the faithful. These faithful people have actively participated in the construction of our new system for the past 40 years. There have never been any divisions in this regard. Representatives of the Catholic communities are members of the highest authorities, including the post of vice premier. They are also present in other echelons of our government. It can be said that we provide proof of how it is possible to implement joint national tasks in agreement with the constitutional principle of the separation of the state from the Catholic Church, a separation that is an accomplished fact in all civilized countries.

Religion is man's private affair. In Poland we not only have full freedom of confession, but also exceptionally favorable conditions for practicing religion. For example, I do not think that anywhere in Europe are as many churches being built as they are in our country, and this in an economically difficult period during which many urgent social problems are asserting themselves. All religious rites can be conducted without any difficulty, which cannot be said even of some of the countries you hail from.

As for our relations with the Catholic Church as an organization, I wish to state that they are correct and have passed their test in the past 40 years, despite various conflicts and misunderstandings. These relations have proved their worth in particularly difficult and extreme situations, in which the Catholic Church and the state were able to find a common platform for the sake of the people's overriding interests. However, the Catholic Church is an entity in which various trends exist. On the whole, the leadership of the Catholic Church, headed by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, shows understanding for the issues that are of basic importance for the state and the people. As for our contacts with Cardinal Glemp -- this is a reply to Herr Reismueller's question -- I positively evaluate and highly praise them. Most clergymen occupy positions that enable them to fulfill their spiritual mission without exposing the state-church relations to risk. Many priests demonstrate social militancy in helping to positively solve various problems of our life. In this connection I would like to stress the services of many priests in rehabilitating and consolidating the Polish character of the western territories.

However, I make no secret of the fact that some priests who easily get excited do not respect the principles laid down by the Constitution and defined by our state interests. This is what we do not like and are concerned about. We continue talks on this matter with the Episcopate and we will seek most consistently to eliminate such phenomena for the good of the state and the Catholic Church and, above all, the people.

Allow me to make an appropriate digression. Some people in the West say at times that socialism has been imported into Poland from the outside, that it has been imposed on us. In this connection it is worth recalling that the Polish workers movement was born over 100 years ago, that is, just a few years later than was the case with Germany and a few years earlier than was the case with Russia. It was Poland that "exported" its revolutionaries. Our countryman Jaroslaw Dabrowski commanded the troops of the Paris Commune. Lenin called Rosa Luxemburg, who was a hero of the German workers movement, "an eagle of the revolution."

Feliks Dzierzynski, Julian Marchlewski, Feliks Kon, Romuald Miklewicz, and hundreds and thousands of others were prominent activists in the October Revolution in Russia. However, I think that the best argument that our socialism has been imported has been supplied by life itself. It was the Polish peasants who took over and divided landed properties, even though they were being shot at. It was the Polish workers who took over factories. It was the children of both who went to universities en masse to study. Many other revolutionary changes, which were compatible with the process of historical development, expressed the aspirations of our people.

It is my wish that our Polish reality should be understood in precisely this way, because, despite various difficulties, it will continue to develop so as to consolidate the real socialist state of Poland. It is our wish that our country's contribution to international cooperation and to the peaceful future of Europe and the world be as great as possible.

So much for my reply. I do not know whether you are satisfied with it. It is common knowledge that journalists are rarely pleased with anything. This is so worldwide, and this is so in Poland. But perhaps this should be so. As a rule, journalists see their mission as picking out that which is painful and bad. We do not expect you to be elated with what you see. We do not need any "court press" with its compliments. We try to work with the curtain up, as we say, because we are for an honest and objective representation of our life and work as they are. We do not want this presentation to be uncritical. We want to be compatible with our reality.

I believe your current contact with Poland will enable you to understand us better. And I beg you, try to understand us! The point is to get to know Poland and the Poles, see our reality, and understand the objective conditions and subjective possibilities. I think that the fifth meeting of Eastern and Western journalists in Jablonna outside Warsaw has fulfilled its expectations. It has been useful. In view of the danger accumulating before mankind, there can never be enough dialogue, comparison of different views, and seeking of an intelligent and constructive compromise. We want the entire conference, including our meeting here today, to serve this very cause. I believe you have performed a very important social and moral mission by coming to the journalists conference in Jablonna. May it serve the cause of peace well; may it also help Poland.

M. Podkowinski: Thank you very much, Mr Premier. On behalf of the participants of the Jablonna symposium, thank you very much for such honest answers to the questions. The entire political content of the answers corresponds to the topics which we dealt with in Jablonna during the 3 days.

The premier has said that he still has a little time to spare. If someone still has some questions, please go ahead and ask. Mrs Geyer is first.

Georgie Anne Geyer, UNIVERSAL PRESS: Thank you very much for the time you have given us, Mr Premier. Could you perhaps answer the following question? Of the things you have done over the past 3 years, which would you have done differently, and which things have been a success?

Vikentiy Matveyev, IZVESTIYA: I have a question about those FRG circles that do not wish to accept the results of World War II. As we know, the activity of these circles in the seventies did not prevent the reaching of important agreements on our continent. In your opinion, how serious are the obstacles which the activity of these FRG circles may create toward the desired positive changes on our continent?

Lubomir Rajnvajm, TANJUG: I am under the impression that socialist Poland, which has been facing a serious social and economic crisis in recent years, is successfully seeking solutions and is gradually solving its major problems. Poland is doing this, if this is the right way of describing it, in its own Polish way, in accordance with the spirit of its own people. A Pole is someone who seeks a way out of a crisis in the Polish way. I am drawing attention to this because a lot of pressure, both subjective and objective, has been brought to bear in order to make the seeking of a way out of the crisis appear differently, and this pressure has not only come from outside. Can one say that this way out has been secured? A lot of room for a way out of the crisis has already been won. What does the immediate future look like in this respect? Thank you very much.

Francis Cremieux, FRANCE-CULTURE: Mr Premier, many of our colleagues have said that relations with France are at the worst possible level. Objectively speaking, I must say that contacts until now have not been high, that they are not at a high level. What could you tell us about the future of these relations?

Hella Pick, THE GUARDIAN: Mr Premier, when the Warsaw Pact was signed, were you aware of what its extent would be? Do you think there will be any changes to the signed treaty, and what will the future of this renewal of the Warsaw Pact be like?

Jahn Otto Johansen, Norwegian radio and television: May I ask you whether the national accord process will be completed and how many years it will take?

Theopilos Francopopulos, ETHNOS: I am a Greek and am somewhat disappointed that I have heard nothing about Poland's isolation and nothing about the pioneering visit by the premier of our government. He was the first Western leader to break the barrier of Poland's isolation and have international contact with Poland. I hope this is merely because of an oversight which could be corrected by you.

John Francis Smith, CBS news: Mr Premier, as far as Father Popieluszko is concerned, will procedings commence against his kidnappers? Do you intend to begin proceedings into the other kidnappings that took place?

M. Podkowinski: That will be all. There is not enough time to answer any more questions because there are so many. Thank you very much. The premier will now answer.

W. Jaruzelski: I will try to relate to these questions. At the same time, I believe that the late hour of the day will justify answers that are perhaps not completely exhaustive.

What would I have done differently in the past 3 years and what has been successful? One success is the fact that the party and state leadership is publicly assessing our policy and presenting it fully. Please examine the relevant publications. There one comes across very many features, all of which indicate the things with which we are dissatisfied and which have therefore failed. At the same time they also contain the things with which we have reason to be satisfied. Perhaps I will begin with the more favorable end. Three years ago, or to be more exact in December 1981, the situation in Poland was catastrophic. I do not intend to expound on this topic, for I would not want this to be regarded as yet another attempt to explain the motives behind the introduction of martial law. We have spoken more than once on this subject, and in very concrete terms.

That is why I will limit myself to briefly describing the situation at that time. Its distinctive features were profound economic destruction and disintegration, followed by painful sanctions. According to our scientists, these sanctions have already cost us directly and indirectly far above $13 billion. We were also confronted with strong public unrest and with many other extremely difficult problems. I think that, despite the innumerable shortcomings and difficulties that are still with us and will be for a long time, we have made a gigantic stride forward, considering what we had to cope with.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, do study the Western press of the past few years. You will find in it many assertions that Polish socialist reality, which we defended in December 1981, would fall to pieces any time. This gloomy forecast was taken up by almost all Western mass media. The only concession that was made was to postpone the date of our disintegration. At first we were supposed to disintegrate within weeks, then months, and then within longer periods of time. How many times we have read that "the days of the junta will soon be over," that Poland was disintegrating, and that new trade unions were a fiction, and so on and so forth. Predictions rarely come true, as Madame Soleille, a Parisian fortune-teller, knows better than anyone else. However, bad forecasts made by journalists are a serious matter, because erroneous evaluations sometime produce real political results. Our domestic adversaries' evaluations were similar. They even coined the slogan "The winter is yours, but the spring is ours," meaning that in the spring our rule would disintegrate. However, life is going on and winters and springs have passed without any deterioration of the situation. We are making slow, gradual, and toilsome progress in improving our situation, but we are making it.

It is difficult for us not to be impatient when the press in countries that have never been ravaged by war and that have become rich through centuries of colonial exploitation poke fun at our various difficulties and shortcomings, but ignore what socialist Poland can be proud of.

I ask you not to interpret what I have said as a request for praises for our country. The only thing we want you to do is to take a realistic look at our affairs. Reality is here, in this Vistula country. We are building and will build it through great efforts.

What should we have done differently? What should I have done differently? It seems to me that we have made no strategic errors. We are true to the ninth congress line. At the same time, many of our tactical and detailed solutions could have been much better. This is all I will say on this subject, because expatiating on it would take too much time under the present circumstances. One thing is certain: We do not intend to conceal our errors and shortcomings. What is most important is to remove and repair them, and this we are trying to do.

The next question was about the difficulties in detente and in normalizing international relations, especially in Europe, that certain circles in the FRG continue to create. How important is this?

It is as important as the FRG is. The FRG is one of the largest, richest, most industrialized, and most politically militant countries in Western Europe. Whatever takes place in the FRG exerts a positive or negative impact on the international situation. That is why it was with great hopes and optimism that we watched the processes that began in the FRG at the end of the sixties, and that were crowned by the normalization of the FRG's relations with the USSR, the PPR, and the GDR. These relations continued in the seventies and were of good service for peace.

Unfortunately, as a result of the changes in the FRG Government, those processes have broken down for the most part, and a regression has even taken place. While replying to a question a few minutes ago, I was able to say that "Eastern policy" is suffering an undoubted fiasco in the form in which the present FRG Government intends to implement it.

We know that the FRG is a part of NATO and an ally of the United States. However, at times we ask ourselves whether this policy is not suicidal in a way. Making the FRG the largest arsenal of weapons, attracting new missiles against it, and wholly harnessing it to Washington policy seems to us a doubtful business not only for Europe, but for the FRG itself. We also view the present situation from the angle of a certain atmosphere, which is important even though it is not so much of material as of moral and psychological significance. I have in mind the revanchist tendencies, which have become very lively in the past few months. I will be frank and say that these tendencies make it imperative for us to view FRG policy with mistrust. With our dreadful experiences we cannot be indifferent to the statements and actions on the part of various revanchist organizations, primarily to the various demonstrations and statements made by the politicians in Bonn.

All this poisons the climate and makes progress difficult. Nevertheless, we are still counting on a sober and realistic view emerging triumphant among the German people, whose industriousness and discipline we have always admired, and counting on it helping to heal the political climate in Europe. It would be very bad indeed if things turned out otherwise.

The next question deals with Poland's emergence from the crisis. First, it is worth considering whether or not we are still in a state of crisis. I do not want to deliver theoretical theses on what a crisis is. There are bound to be specialists among you who know this subject matter very well. I do, however, wish to say that we are indeed still experiencing great difficulties, but the crisis in the traditional sense of the word and in the way we still saw it not so very long ago has indeed been overcome. What then is the issue all about? It is because our current produced national income is still almost 20 percent less than it was in 1978. However, one should remember that the produced national income in that year was "boosted" by enormous credits with which we are no longer burdened today. By the way, we cannot understand the way of thinking of some of the countries to which we have debts. Instead of developing normal economic relations with us which will permit an earlier repayment of these debts, they behave as if these repayments are to be made goodness knows when.

However, let me get back to the subject. Indeed we are worse off, but we are living at our own expense, if we exclude the aid from our allies, above all the Soviet Union. But this is indeed aid. We are worse off, but this is also because we are working shorter hours. Work-free Saturdays have been introduced as a result of well-known pressure. Such a work system in more prosperous countries than ours was worked out and introduced over a space of entire years. But we introduced this system suddenly, and at a time of accumulated economic difficulties. As a result, we are working less. Apart from this, the number of people working today is less than the number working before 1980. This is the result, among other things, of the educational and maternity leave system, which is without precedent in any country except perhaps Hungary. We have 3 years of paid leave, the effects of which are most keenly felt in the light industry, which traditionally employs many women. But, is this a crisis? It is a certain economic state which has occurred because of the fulfillment of socially understandable and justified expectations and intentions, among other things.

Our emergence from the state of crisis is also confirmed by the rise in productivity. It is already higher than it was in 1979. And yet it is a basic yardstick of economic cohesiveness. Right now the point is to strengthen this trend and make better use of the great reserves which we still possess. In this sense, too, it is worth viewing Poland as a country with a great future. This is not a country doomed to poverty. We have large raw material resources and a series of industrial branches at a high level of modernity. Most of all, however, we have very many highly qualified cadres. Perhaps not everyone knows that in Poland there are more engineers per 1,000 inhabitants than, for example, in the FRG or France. But whether we are using these engineers in the best way is, of course, another matter. I will immediately say that we are not. We must do better. But this is a huge potential. This we regard as our basic reserve. We also consume too many materials and too much energy. Much has to be improved in terms of quality. But this is also a reserve which we may and should make better use of. All in all, to use a certain metaphor, our weaknesses may become our strengths if we know how to overcome them.

Here I refer to earlier questions, for example one asked by a Hungarian press representative about the economic reform. We are consistently implementing this reform, regarding it as an important liberator of reserves [illegible] an animator of the economy. It has already brought results. We will of course amend and adjust the reform according to the experience we have gathered. But we believe that the path of initiative and intense activity that we have taken is the right one. After all, that is how it is in other socialist countries. Let me refer to the Hungarian and Bulgarian reforms, the Soviet experiment, and so on. We therefore have wide maneuvering space for creative solutions. Most of all we have large possibilities of moving forward.

But I do not wish to limit my thoughts to the crisis or to economic issues. This would be an oversimplification and a narrowing down. We still have a lot to do concerning winning over the entire society to our policies. We are aiming in this direction and gradually receiving better results. But I do not think anyone can answer the question of how long this process will take.

We tell and will tell the truth to our people. We know that honesty confirmed by facts and policy helps strengthen social confidence, which is the foundation of the correct relations between the party and the government on the one hand, and the people, on the other. I want to stress once again that we would find things much easier and would make greater progress if the uninvited Western guests did not often interfere in this matter and make it difficult for our policy to be understood by the people.

Our relations with France are bad, unfortunately, and we regret this. We have often recalled that the Polish and French nations have been linked by traditional sentiments for dozens of years, for centuries. This typical affection is even irrational on our part. However, it is a fact that many events in history have left indelible traces of the friendship between the Polish and French people. That is why we are particularly pained by the French Government's attitude toward our affairs. We are pained by its aversion to our reality and intentions. After all, France has had and still has many very difficult and even shameful problems and should therefore be moderate in judging others. It should be all the more anxious to ensure that Poland, its traditional ally, is certain that France has not turned away from us and does not lag behind other European countries, which are rebuilding their relations with us on a considerable scale. It goes without saying that these strange moods and caprices are temporary and serve some purpose. There is not much future in them. However, they are now badly affecting the climate of our relations.

I know that some people were indignant about the statement made by Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban that we should take a look at the extent to which French is taught in our schools.

I think he was right. Polish-French economic and scientific-technological relations were greatly expanded in the seventies, and for this reason French language instruction in our schools was expanded more than twice at the cost of the English and German languages. If the present relations in France continue, if our cooperation in such fundamental areas as the economy, science, and technology continues to disappear, and if other countries take the place of France, life itself will enforce certain changes for reasons other than malice toward the beautiful French language. I am very much against such changes. I studied French in secondary school and I love French culture and literature. However, it is realism, objectivity, and state interests that must determine what is to happen.

Mrs Hella Pick asked whether we saw the results of the Warsaw Pact when signing it and how we view the extension of its validity. Let me recall that the Warsaw Pact was signed only 6 years after NATO had been set up and that it was a kind of response to the fact that the remilitarized FRG had been admitted into the NATO military structure, which constituted a violation of the Potsdam Agreement. In line with its principles and practice, the Warsaw Pact has played and is playing a constructive role in Europe and the world and is crucially helping to preserve peace.

After all, Europe has been an eternal "powder keg." It was a place of war every few years. Only in the past 40 years have we enjoyed the blessings of peace becauce of the large presence of the socialist countries in Europe, because the position of the USSR has consolidated, and because the Warsaw Pact has been set up.

I do not want to simplify this issue and treat it in a one-sided way. There is no doubt that all realistic forces have made their contribution t= peaceful coexistence, and this includes all those in East and West who do not want war. However, the Warsaw Pact was and is an extremely important element of peace in the present situation.

We have said more than once that if NATO is dissolved, then the Warsaw Pact will also immediately cease to exist. It is not we who are the obstacle to eliminating this "interblocness." Every step toward detente and reduction in tension is a great need for mankind. We should aim for this goal together. I cannot say now for how long the Warsaw Pact will be extended. This is a matter involving a collective assessment by all its members. The highest Warsaw Pact body, the Political Consultative Committee, will decide on this matter at the appropriate time.

How many years will the building of national accord take, asks Mr Johansen. I have already partly touched upon this topic. It is difficult to give a calendar date in such an issue, but it is worth considering what the word accord means.

I believe it is a certain state of unity in society's consciousness concerning supreme affairs. In this sense, we practically already have universal accord. This applies to the cause of peace, Poland's frontiers, and our country's security. Attitudes toward socialism, social justice, and law and order are also largely universal. One can continue the list. There is also a range of troublesome and controversial issues as in every society, supported by people with various views and world outlooks. It is very important not to allow these differences to become a conflict, especially as there is no broader class basis for these differences in our country.

Here we believe, in accordance with the principle of Hegelian dialectics whose social meaning was really provided by Marxism, that differences are a driving force. Revealing and overcoming these differences is something that builds and even strengthens. Therefore our aim is not at all to eliminate all differences at any price. This is quite simply impossible.

However, in our country there are also antagonistic differences, of a political and class nature. They are borne by forces and trends opposed to our system and socialist state. We do not seek accord with the persons and groups representing such views, and we will certainly not find it. To us, the foundation for accord is the system and recognition of our state's supreme interests.

It is often said abroad and in some domestic circles that there is no accord because "Mr X" is not speaking to "Mr Y". These letters of the alphabet will never find accord with each other. There has been enough marking time and treachery. Some chapters are closed for ever.

Summing up, accord is not an "act," but a natural "process" in the life of the nation. In its construction we want as many points in common as possible to appear, points which all of us together will accept. This is what we are primarily aiming for and constantly striving toward.

I wish to admit the sin of not mentioning wonderful Greece or the person of Mr Papandreou, who exhibited both great foresight and courage during the period of martial law in 1982 by meeting me on his own initiative in Moscow -- we were there during the funeral for Leonid Brezhnev -- and I had the opportunity to present our side of the matter. Now he has paid a very fruitful visit, one aimed against no one. Greece is a member of NATO and fulfills the duties which it has taken upon itself, but at the same time it provides a model example of the fact that it is possible to be in different blocs and at the same time to find a platform for cooperation and understanding; I would even go as far as saying friendship. Let us look for more models like this. Greece and its prime minister deserve the deepest respect for going courageously along this road. We will always keep this in our memory. This is a great contribution to the friendship between the nations of Poland and Greece.

The murder of Father Popieluszko is still agitating the people. While replying to an earlier question I tried to satisfy your expectations. However, anyone especially interested in this case can receive much more detailed information from us. We have nothing to hide. On the contrary, we are sincerely interested in fully revealing the truth.

As for investigations into other kidnappings, I propose that other countries should set a good example, especially the countries you hail from. Incomparably more murders, kidnappings, various acts of aggression, and Mafia-like crimes -- in which police are often implicated -- occur in the world than in our country. Various crimes have never been cleared up. For example, no one knows what has happened to little Orlando and to many other people who have vanished without trace. We still do not know who murdered President Kennedy. We still do not know many other things.

In the very bowels of our apparatus we have identified a rotten cell and we continue to cut it out with unexampled candor. All the same, stange demands are still being addressed to us: Do something more, show us something more. We will do all we can, but we will never do anything for the sake of sensation. I stress once again that our activity will be compatible with the norms of morality, the laws, and state interests.

I do not know whether you are satisfied with my answers to almost all your questions. I have not tried to avoid various issues and to speak "smooth" language, because I have too much respect for your responsible profession.

Hoping that this meeting has been useful, I would like once again to thank you for your coming to this conference, which has been constructive. Despite various views, which is natural, this conference has proved to be a common and uniting platform. This bodes well for the future.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, esteemed comrades, may I wish you fruitful work in providing honest information in the service of your nations and thus in the services of peace in Europe and of all mankind. I wish you good health and personal happiness. Until we see each other again in Jablonna within a few years.

OLSZOWSKI ON PACT COOPERATION, FRG REVISIONISM

LD112255 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Interview with Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Stefan Olszowski in Warsaw by correspondent Bohumil Horak: date not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Horak] Comrade Minister, what is the significance of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries, Warsaw Pact member-countries, and above all Czechoslovakia and Poland in securing the most important task of the present -- strengthening peace and international security.

[Olszowski in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] The most important task of our foreign policy -- securing peace and international security -- can be jointly fulfilled only in fraternal alliance with the states of the socialist community. This determined by the character of the present threat to peace and international security. This threat stems from the alliance of the forces of world imperialism, which strives for military supremacy and dictating its own will to the world, using political and economic pressure to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, and implementing daily ideological subversion and propagandistic aggression against the states and people of realistic socialism.

Both of our peoples have found out about the application of these methods in practice. In this situation, it is of exceptional importance to jointly oppose this common threat. This opposition is a necessary prerequisite for the efficiency of our policies and is required by our principle national interests, interests of peace and international security. The allied coordination of foreign policy, in which the activity of the USSR in the international field has a significant place, and the joint defense conceptions and economic integration not only expand, but also multiply our strength.

This truth is, above all, valid for the Warsaw Pact, signed almost 20 years ago. It has given Poland and Czechoslovakia and other socialist states a basic guarantee of development of socialist construction in conditions of peace and security.

It contributed toward maintaining world peace. It has been and is an important platform of our cooperation in current international relations. The Warsaw Pact plays an important role in this sphere, and our successes are indisputable. Our common strength has been and is reliable dam against the aggressive plans of imperialism. Our joint policy led toward breaking the ice of the cold war and toward the beginning or relaxation and gradual building of European security and cooperation. This coodinated effort brought definitive recognition of political realities, born as a result of the victory over fascism.

This was tellingly characterized by Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, in the Federal Assembly several weeks ago. He said: We think that it is shortsighted to attack what has been the basis of European and world peace for the past 40 years. These 40 years have made the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements a basis of international law. That is why when assessing our successes for the past years, we can note with full satisfaction that the joint effort and coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member-states have played not only an important role in the history of our peoples, but also on the whole world. And today it is the main force working to secure peace and international security.

That is why when assessing our successes for the past years, we can not with full satisfaction that the joint effort and coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member-states have played not only an important role in the history of our peoples, but also on the whole world. And today it is the main force working to secure peace and international security.

[Horak] In the policy of some Western countries, above all the FRG, there are tendencies toward revanchism and militarism. Comrade Minister, in your opinion, what are the causes of these dangerous tendencies, and how should one oppose them?

[Olszowski] The current revisionist tendencies in the FRG are closely connected with the attempts of Bonn to alter the political-territorial status quo in Europe. This is not a new phenomenon. At the present time, however, we are encountering the fact that the official government policy is adopting the revisionist elements on an increasingly larger scale. This attempts to negate the results of World War II and revise frontiers, voicing territorial demands in the name of the so-called [word indistinct], although they are aimed directly against the neighboring states of the FRG, concurrently endanger all the European states. They are aimed against the political-territorial bases of stabilization and peace on our continent.

When talking about the causes of this phenomenon, it is not difficult to notice that the revival of the revisionist forces in the FRG and their activation took place in the atmosphere of an anticommunist U.S. crusade and a stepping up of the arms race by NATO. The voices, coming from the other side of the Atlantic, which questioned the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, were carefully received by the right-wing forces in the FRG. The U.S. policy aimed at gaining military supremacy over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states is warmly welcomed in the militaristic circles of NATO and the FRG. The military-industrial complex sees the atmosphere of tension in East-West relations and in the arms race as an opportunity for implementing its political aims, for weakening the socialist system. The activity stimulating tension is being joined by the revisionist circles in FRG for whom the policy of relaxation, understanding, and cooperation in Europe signifies substantial limitation on the path of achieving [word indistinct] aims.

The revisionist tendencies in the policy of the FRC not only burden the bilateral relations of Bonn with the socialist countries, but also complicate the return to a constructive dialogue and relaxation in Europe. They also represent a burden to the international climate and a brake in East-West cooperation. Postponement of the visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Poland is seen as a very acute demonstration of this destructive task of right-wing and revisionist forces in Europe.

Together with the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and the other Warsaw Pact allies, we shall resolutely oppose all the attempts to question the territorial-political realities in Europe or the forces which guarantee the balance of forces and create a base for peaceful coexistence of all European peoples. Opposing revisionist tendencies is in the interest of all European states. To achieve this aim one must even more profoundly unite the efforts of all socialist states.

In developing activities for peace, security, a return to the policy of relaxation, and against the questioning of these values by revisionists, we can count on the support of all realistically thinking forces throughout Europe, including realistic forces in the FRG.

[Horak] Comrade Minister, during the coming visit of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski to Prague, a considerable part of the talks with Comrade Gustav Husak will be dedicated to foreign political problems.

[Olszowski] It is obvious that our states consult on all international questions of considerable significance. This was reflected, for example, in the recent joint statement by the ministers of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Poland and the CSSR. The question of relations with the FRG is a significant topic of mutual consultation. The West German Government tolerates, and often approves of and takes part in the congresses of various Landsmannschaften, where there is open talk about territorial demands concerning the Poeple's Republic of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The deployment of new U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles on the territory of the FRG, aimed, among others, against Poland and Czechoslovakia, multiplies these forces and tendencies. This was noted by Wojciech Jaruzelski during Gustav Husak's visit to Poland.

In this situation, the significance of the unity of the socialist community is growing immensely. The strength and coherence of the political-defensive alliance of the Warsaw Pact states, cooperation within the framework of CEMA, full support to the policy of the USSR, and close coordination of international talks all guarantee the security and peaceful life of the socialist countries and peoples. At the same time it is a factor of the greatest significance for the cause of peace in Europe and the world.

The People's Republic of Poland and Czechoslovakia, together with the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact member-states, will continue to reject and oppose all attempts of the forces of imperialism, militarism, and revanchism, whose activities create a threat of war with unforeseeable consequences for Europe and the entire world.

The policy of the states of the socialist community, including Poland and Czechoslovakia, purposefully aims at reapplying the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, at safefuarding peace and security, and at reducing international tension. It also aims at halting the arms race, promoting disarmament, removing economic limitations and sanctions from the relations between states, and safeguarding broad and mutually advantageous cooperation of all the states and peoples in all spheres.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO CONVENE 21-22 DEC

LD111908 Warsaw Televison Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has assessed the preparations for the 18th Central Committee plenary session, which will be devoted to economic problems. It acquainted itself with the draft reports, in which the tasks of the party in the implementation of the 1985 plan and particularly concerning an improvement in management, efficiency, and consolidating economic equilibrium, are set out.

The Politburo decided to convene the 18th Central Committee plenum on 21 and 22 December.

The execution of the resolution of the 14th plenum concerning economic matters, as well as the work of party echelons and organizations in this field, was assessed. The Politburo adopted the guidelines on the report-back and electoral campaign of the PZPR in 1985. In accordance with the party statute, report-back meetingw will be held in basic and departmental party organizations and works. Parish, urban-parish, urban, district and voivodship report-back conferences will take place in February and March. They will assess the execution of the resolution of the party's ninth congress; the plenary sessions of the Central Committee; and individual party echelons and organizations.

OFFICIALS ATTEND ALBANIAN NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

AU100820 Warsaw TYYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] PAP — On 29 November, Viron Tane, Albanian charge d'affaires, gave a reception in Warsaw on the occasion of the national day of the Socialist Republic of Albania. The reception was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries.

CPSU'S GORBACHEV RECEIVES BARCIKOWSKI IN MOSCOW

For reports on the visit to the USSR by a PZPR Central Committee delegation headed by Kazmierz Barcikowski, including talks with CPSU Politburo member Mikhail Gorbachev, see the Eastern Europe section of the 11 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

COVERAGE OF VISIT TO LAOS BY SEJM LEADER GERTYCH

For Vientiane press agency reportage on the visit to Laos a delegation led by Sejm Vice Marshal Zbigniew Gertych, see the Laos section of the 6 December Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

CEAUSESCU, REAGAN MESSAGES TO ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Favorable Exchange Conditions

AU111323 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1115 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] President Nicolae Ceausescu has conveyed a message to the 11th session of the Romanian-American Economic Council, whose proceedings are taking place in Washington.

Extending warm greetings to all the participants in the session, as well as best wishes for success in the proceedings of this important meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu notes with satisfaction the council's active contribution to expanding economic relations between Romania and the United States in the spirit of and based on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual benefit. The message points out that last year bilateral commercial exchanges resumed their upward course, and that the Economic Council carried out a broad activity in this respect.

In view of the results previously registered, we can state that the total volume of Romanian-American trade will again exceed $1 billion. In the first 11 months of this year, the Romanian economy has further strengthened and Romanian enterprises have increased and diversified their technical-productive potential, thus having the possibility of participating more actively in commercial exchange and international economic cooperation.

Taking into consideration the current progress of the American economy, President Nicolae Ceausescu points out that conditions exist to speedily reach a volume of bilateral commerical exchanges of $2 billion, a target to which the Economic Council will undoubtedly make its direct contribution.

The message extended by the Romanian head of state further notes: I wish to emphasize again that the documents, accords, and understandings concluded between Romania and the United States have created increasingly favorable conditions for developing Romanian-American economic exchanges on mutually advantageous bases.

We further strive to promote a legal framework that confers greater confidence, stability, and durability on the economic relations of cooperation and collaboration between the enterprises of the two countries. The mutual granting of most-favored-nation status is one of these frameworks.

The message further states: We believe that if economic relations and scientific-technical cooperation and collaboration among nations increases, the overall exchanges of intellectual and cultural values will also increase, human relations will develop, and trust among countries will grow. These can only serve the benefit of international detente, the cause of peace, peaceful understanding, and cooperation among nations. In this respect Romania, a developing socialist country, works to expand economic, scientific-technological, and cultural exchanges with all countries, regardless of social system, and directly participates in international exchanges of material and cultural assets and in establishing a climate of peace, security, and broad cooperation throughout the world, in which every nation can fully concentrate its forces and creative capabilities on socioeconomic development and on ensuring its well-being and prosperity.

This year Romania has inaugurated the Danube-Black Sea Canal, which represents an important contribution to facilitating international trade, and Romania desires that American firms use this waterway, thus expanding Romanian-American cooperation.

In concluding the message President Nicolae Ceausescu again extends wishes for full success to the proceedings of the council in initiating and carrying out new actions designed to give a greater impetus to Romania-American economic exchanges, cooperation and collaboration in the interest of the two peoples and the cause of detente, understanding, and peace throughout the world.

Council To Play Important Role

AU111339 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has sent a message to the session of the Romanian-American Economic Council.

After expressing his welcoming greetings to the participants in the session, the chief of the American Administration conveyed greetings to the council in this jubilee year for its contribution to developing close commercial relations between the United States and Romania.

The message notes that last week the 10th session of the joint Romanian-American commission was convened. Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige and Minister of Foreign Trade Vasile Pungan agreed to seek ways to increase bilateral commercial exchanges in the second decade of normalized commerical relations.

President Ronald Reagan further states that the council, which includes major representatives of American and Romanian industry, will continue to play an important role in our efforts to fully utilize the commercial potential of the two countries.

The message further notes that Romanian exports to the United States have exceeded American exports to Romania, and expresses the hope that the discussions within the session of the council will facilitate the reestablishment of American exports to Romania next year, a fact which is for the benefit of both countries, President Ronald Reagan stressed.

In concluding the message, best wishes for success are extended to the proceedings of the council.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS WORKING PEOPLE COUNCIL PLENUM

AU111016 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0958 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 11/12/1984 -- Under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, chairman of the National Council of Working People, a plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction, Transport, Goods Circultation and Finance opened in Bucharest on December 11.

The following items are on its agenda:

1. -- the draft plan of Romania's economic and social development for 1985;
2. -- the draft state budget for 1985;
3. -- a bill on the standardization of products, structures and technologies, technical materials and energy norm-setting, improvement of the quality and performance of products;
4. -- a self-management and self-sufficiency programme to ensure the population's good supply with agroindustrial and industrial consumer goods over October 1, 1984-September 30, 1985.

SUKRIJA CHAIRS LCY CC PRESIDIUM SESSION

LD112128 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- The activity of the LC and other socialist forces in implementing the stands of the 14th LCY Central Committee session regarding implementation of economic policy in 1984 and establishing economic and development policy in 1985 was reviewed today at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium chaired by Ali Sukrija. Particular attention was focused on activities relating to adopting the resolution on the SFRY's economic policy for 1985.

The Presidium concluded that important activity is being conducted in the LC, in organizations of associated labor, and in other organizations and institutions of the system in implementing the views of the 14th LCY Central Committee session. Such activity, in the opinion of the Presidium, should be decisively continued in all environments, in line with realizing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. The requirements of the general party debte regarding the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session encourage this activity to a great degree. The Presidium underlines the obligation of Communists in organs of the federation, republics, and provinces to step up work to ensure that the resolution on the SFRY's economic policy for 1985 is adopted by the end of the year.

The Presidium reviewed the ideopolitical issues and tasks of the LC and of other subjective factors regarding the creation of the necessary prerequisites and further conditions for ensuring that the policy of gradual reduction of the rate of inflation may be realized in 1985 by influencing its essential causes. Stress was laid upon the fact that it is of particular importance for suppressing inflation and realizing the other goals and tasks of economic stabilization that in organizations of associated labor and at all other levels of self-managing and social organization there should be an increase in work towards reducing costs and spending and improving the quality of labor and business activity, and that determined social action should be continued to unburden the economy and to realize the constitutional role of the worker in associated labor in making decisions on the entirety of income and the trends of expanded reproduction.

At today's session the LCY Central Committee Presidium in preparation for the forthcoming LCY Central Committee session, ratified the proposed composition of the committee for preparing the 13th LCY Congress, the commission for preparing the report on the work of the LCY and the LCY Central Committee between the 12th and 13th LCY Congresses, and the commission for organizational and statutory questions.

FEC PROPOSES 1985 BUDGET OF 609.5 BILLION DINARS

LD111708 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- According to the latest proposal by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] the federal budget next year should amount to 609.5 billion dinars. The budget should be an increase of 55.9 percent over this year's budget, that is the rebalanced budget for this year. The rebalance of 4.2 billion dinars which has just been proposed has been calculated into the basis from which the budget growth will be worked out.

This so-called supplementary proposed volume of the budget for next year substantially differs both in terms of its concept and in terms of its extent from the draft which amounted to 574.1 billion dinars.

As the delegates in the Federal Chamber Budget Committee were informed today by Egon Padovan, deputy federal secretary of finance, the FEC has prepared this supplementary proposal because the assemblies of Kosovo, Serbia, and Croatia had not given their consent to the draft budget. They demanded that the budget be compiled to a fixed extent with the possibility of a rebalance during the year.

The latest variant of the budget proceeds from an assumed 40 percent rate of deflation and from the planned growth rate of social product amounting to 44.9 percent and of national income amounting to 44.8 percent next year. In addition to resources for the Yugoslav people's Army, the budget also envisages increased resources for underdeveloped republics and for Kosovo amounting to 44.9 percent (in keeping with the growth of social product) and secures the funds to finance current war veteran and disability welfare (the value of the pensions is to be updated at the beginning and in the middle of next year). Resources also have to be provided to meet the foreign exchange obligations of the federal organs and to carry out their work. This particular expenditure should go up by 50.2 percent in relation to this year.

Bearing in mind the assessments regarding the ability to obtain the original revenue of the federation and also the fact that the republics and provinces cannot increase their contributions by more than 45 percent next year, the FEC has noted that there is a shortfall of about 30.6 billion dinars. The FEC will determine the sources from which to meet this spending by the end of the year.

Since the Federal Chamber if responsible for planning the distribution of budget resources among their users, the delegates in this committee will discuss this proposal to enable the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces to finally decide the volume of the federal budget for next year.

The delegates today endorsed the proposal for this year's federal budget to be rebalanced by 4.2 billion dinars. These resources will be secured through the original revenue of the federation (tax on turnover, custom duties, and other import dues), and will be distributed among the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo and with part also to be given for the work of federal organs. According to Padovan the FEC, by virtue of the decision taken by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces last December, must propose a rebalanced budget if it has been established that the resources for general and joint expenditure in the republics and provinces have gone up over 30 percent. During the first months of this year increase was 40.9 percent.

OFFICIALS REMARKS ON POLITICAL SYSTEM CHANGES

Dolanc Speaks At Jesenice

AU111805 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Dec 84 p 5

[Report on speech by Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency, at the celebrations of the Slovene steelworks anniversary in Jesenice on 1 December]

[Excerpts] In connection with the search for answers to the numerous questions we face in the development of our society, as well as with some apparent dilemmas about great changes in our political system or rather the solutions in this respect should be, in the true meaning of the word, a continuation and additional building of the system of a free association of labor.

This means that the basic aim of every work, including the present, connected with a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management must be to set the institutions of the political system so as to serve an active and effective further development of socialist and self-managing production relations. Only in this way will our entire political system serve directly the interests and needs of the working people organized in basic self-managing organizations and communities, in the communes, republics, and provinces, and in the federation.

It should be stressed again at this time that during the work of critically analyzing the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management, one cannot subject to revision those constitutional provisions that ensure the rights of workers in associated labor to decide on the fruits of their current and past labor. Also we cannot deviate from the constitutional principles and solutions that ensure national equality and the rights and obligations of the republics and provinces to care independently for their own development and for the development of the federation. It is impermissible to evade the relations in the federation that have been realized and confirmed in practice, built on the foundations of accords and agreements, even at the present time when a political climate has been created to a considerable degree in which one expects changes in some norms and regulations, but not changes in the existing practice of one's own conduct, idleness, usurpation of power from the workers, abolition of actual nomopolies in the cadre policy, and so forth. In this way an attempt is being made to divert the critical disposition of workers in a wrong direction so as to continue to preserve the opportunities for manipulating them. It is thus demanded in a thunderous way from political rostrums that any kind of changes be made above all, while everything that calls for rational thinking and discussion is proclaimed to be dogmatism.

It is necessary to stress, however, that it is nevertheless necessary to clarify what changes are supposed to be made, what they lead to, what they imply, and what the aims of these changes are -- and one must have a clear criterion, the criterion of what these changes mean for the actual position of the worker in our society. One must get all these things clear, for only then will we be able to determine reliably whether to oppose the changes is dogmatism or whether to advocate them is an extremely technocratic and bureaucratic, or perhaps bourgeois reactionary attempt to restore relations that are alien to socialist self-management and unacceptable to us. The method of disqualification without a clear criterion for examining these questions makes these important social problems a best-selling article in the marketplace of political demagoguery and petty politicking.

Ljubicic Speaks at Zmaj Factory

AU101940 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Excerpts] Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency, and Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Belgrade City LC Committee, visited the Zemun Zmaj Agricultural Machines Factory. After visiting some production sections, the guests were briefed on the results of the economic operations, on problems and difficulties the workers of this collective are facing, and on plans for next year. Nikola Ljubicic then spoke to the Zmaj factory aktiv about the most current issues of the country's development. Mirjana Trajkovic reports:

Speaking about the leading role of the LC, Nikola Ljubicic positively assessed the session of the Belgrade City LC Committee that discussed ideological trends, a discussion which, as he pointed out, considerably contributed to the engagement of Communists and to the development of their awareness of the importance of LC action. Nikola Ljubicic devoted part of his speech to the need for changes in the political system which are, according to him, a condition for implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

[Begin Ljubicic recording] It is known that demands were made at the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses that such changes be carried out. However, I think that the Serbia LC Central Committee Plenum which, as you know, was held recently, contributed considerably to quicker changes. Considering this plenum, I think that it is good that it pointed to the most important changes that should be carried out, that should be made in order to render the social system more efficacious. This means that changes in the political system should be made to enable the social system to function as quickly and efficiently as possible.

As you know, the session composed and unanimously adopted Positions. This is a large step in the elaboration of all these issues, this matter that we have been dealing with previously. However, what is expected now, after these Positions that have been unanimously adopted, is that their elaboration, their concretization be continued, that this be concretized into propositions, into concrete solutions. If one stopped now at these adopted assumptions only, if all organs at the level of republic and other sociopolitical communities, and if you will, at the federal level, did not continue to work more quickly, that would certainly fail to meet the working people's expectations that exist now, after this plenum.

The method of consideration and work both in the councils and especially in the Positions of the Serbia LC Central Committee nowhere has demands or assumptions that require changing the essential, basic premises of the political system. For, as I would put it, the only changes demanded concern what hampers faster and more efficacious development of our society. Therefore, as regards basic premises of the system, as well as the basic premises of the Constitution, there we must be definite that one must not touch these, and as far as it seems to me at least, nobody demands that or tampers with these basic premises. [end recording]

Kucan Interviewed by TANJUG

LD101718 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0628 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- Our political system, as defined by the Constitution, cannot function successfully without sociopolitical organizations, subjective forces as we usually call them, fulfilling their cohesive and instructive role in an adequate way. Hesitation, inconsistency, wanderings, and deformities in their work, and there are enough of these, inevitably profoundly effect the political system. It is therefore impossible to speak about a critical analysis of the functioning of our political system without understanding the place and role of sociopolitical organizations within it, Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in his conversation with Dragica Majstorovic, TANJUG editor.

If we choose to speak in favor of necessary changes in our political system, they should primarily concern the position, role, and method of activity of sociopolitical organizations, LC, and other subjective progressive forces. This is probably the greatest and most important problem in the further development and building of our political system.

It is not the fundamental changes in these forces' social role that is at issue here, but the need to adequately work out the details of their organization, method of work, and position in the social decisionmaking process so that their role can be fulfilled. In the absence of this a real danger exists that their defined social role itself will become distorted.

The central issue is: To what extent do subjective forces, the LC above all, reflect the free interests of the working people, and to what extent do they contribute to their democratic coordination, integration, and synthesis with the common and general interests of the working class, nations, and nationalists. This is necessary since it has become obvious that shortcomings in the process of integration and synthesis of interests are largely due to shortcomings in the work of sociopolitical organizations, their inability to adapt to the logic of our constitutional, but above all, our delegate system, and their failure to implement those principles outlined in their program and statutory documents.

Failures, shortcomings, and distortions in their work cannot simply be corrected through changes in, amendments to, and corrections of other institutions and mechanisms of our political system. Not even through changes in institutional-legal organizations of the political system of the federation. Institutional changes only will not ensure what is of vital importance for our system. The analysis of specific problems should be a basis and the main source for the LC to determine its ideopolitical stands, which would then be used as a point of departure by party organizations and Communists in their activity within the delegate system.

I think, Kucan said, that 10 years of long practice has provided enough basis for a comprehensive analysis of the subjective factor's role. This also implicitly includes the possibility of adequate changes in program and statutory documents of sociopolitical organizations. They should discuss this at upcoming debates on preparations for their own congresses and even the LCY Congress. Some relevant elements have also been emphasized during the debate on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee's session.

In the process of finding solutions to the problem of how to ensure sociopolitical organizations' influence on the way in which common interests in the federation are being realized, we failed to overcome the dilemma that could be concisely defined as: Should we continue in the old way or according to the fourth chapter of the SFRY Constitution?

What does "in the old way" mean? It implies, Kucan said, that stands adopted by sociopolitical organizations' forums are authoritatively and thorough directives submitted to self-managing organs and assemblies that make decisions formally and are duty-bound, on the basis of the bureaucratically defined principle of democratic centralism, to simply transform these stands into their own decisions. This way of work first, leaves doors wide open for informal decisionmaking and systems and second, totally denies the delegate system and reduces its effectiveness and ability to assume responsibility for implementing adopted decisions.

This would, in brief, lead to the continuation of the state of relations in which political organizations, and particularly the LC in combination with the state apparatus, execute power on behalf of the working class.

The alternative to such work is to strengthen the instructive and cohesive role of sociopolitical organizations. Their influence should be felt, Kucan said, at the level where political stands are being adopted in their organs. These stands should be a basis for the activity of basic organizations and for all LC members who should commit themselves and become involved in the process of determining directions in which delegations and delegates in basic self-managing organizations and communities should act. We, of course, assume that democratic channels in these organizations are sufficiently developed and open to ensure that stands adopted by forums are an expression and result of the interests of working people, i.e. members of these organizations.

I think that the successful fulfillment of the subjective factor's role in our political system is the central issue of its functioning. In fact, sociopolitical organizations cannot be proponents of the criticism of the functioning of the political system without accepting that it is at the same time the criticism of themselves as well, Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said.

Mikulic Addresses Sarajevo LC

LD102244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- The reverberations of our complex economic situations on the substance of the present discussion in LC basic organization, and organs in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session are obvious and understandable, because the true standard of living has been falling for several years, the inflation rate is very high and has a destructive effect upon the development of social reproduction; it very seriously affects a section of the population living in towns.

This was stated at the beginning of his statement by Branko Mikulic, SFRY Presidency member, as he took part in the discussion at today's city LC committee session. The session summarized the results of the public discussion on this document.

This period, Mikulic said, also saw the culmination of an intensive campaign conducted since Tito's death calculated under the garb of demystification of the so-called taboo subject matter and personalities to sow political confusion in the country and change the direction of our society's development -- according to some in the direction of restoring a bourgeois society, and according to others, in the direction of introducing an etatist-centralist rule in Yugoslavia. In their attempt to create a more favorable climate for a counterrevolution, the bourgeois right-wing elements and inveterate Cominformists unscrupulously attack Tito's personality and achievements, and the achievements and values of our revolution. Their objective is to bring down this Yugoslavia so as to create favorable conditions for their activity along this line. The individuals and groups of antisocialist and antiself-management orientation subscribe to the view that they have to first and foremost cause doubts regarding Tito's personality and achievements, the policy pursued by the Yugoslav Communist Party, and the LCY's ability to offer a program of extricating ourselves from the present situation.

In Mikulic's assessment, the people acting from these positions -- bourgeois right-wingers and Stalinists -- have links with reactionary centers abroad. As faithful servants of their masters, they are carrying out accurately devised directives in a disciplined way from the program of strategic actions by foreign reactionary quarters vis-a-vis Yugoslavia. We have reliable information regarding this.

It must also be noted that such a situation, and especially economic difficulties, have given rise to hesitation and loss of perspective among a number of LC members, and also a high tide of intrigues that have embraced a section of the LC membership. This is more noticeable in territorial and LC basic organizations and in work communities, rather than in LC production organizations; among present and former senior officials, rather than among the workers; and more among the intelligentsia and social activities than in the economy.

Our response to all this, Mikulic said, is largely to produce generic statements from the sessions, adopt conclusions, and write internal information for LC organizations, partly through public statements by individual officials and other Communists. There are even differences of views in these statements on questions of substance, and this is causing confusion.

Taken as a whole, it can be said that very few Communists are entering the dialogue and the ideological and political confrontation, even regarding the most reactionary points of view, lies, and slanders. It appears that many people believe there are those with special responsibility to do that. Furthermore, our public statements occasionally express powerlessness in relation to topical problems. This gives the appearance that we are incapable of devising solutions for them, while those who advocate alternative opposition to socialist self-management claim they know what the solutions are. The fact that they radically criticize everything that exists and abundantly employ demagogic phrases -- in conditions of a complex economic situation and a fall in the living standard -- gives rise to interest among the reading public, while our generic statements, conclusions, and speeches are barely read or listened to.

Moreover, Mikulic said, negative trends predominate at individual meetings, in public information media, and in our public statements. They appear in the form of statements neither followed up by identifying the causes of individual problems or social and political manifestations, nor followed by suggestions or proposals of how to eliminate them and open up prospects for our society's further development on the basis of socialist self-management.

It appears inadvisable to say that something in our country is moving forward. For example, we were quite incapable of meeting our commitments vis-a-vis foreign creditors 3 years ago. We did not even know the actual state regarding our foreign debt, whereas now -- true, with appropriate financial support of the governments of a number of countries and business banks -- we are regularly fulfilling all of our commitments. We had a fall in industrial production in 1982 compared with the previous year, whereas we had a satisfactory production growth of 5.3 percent during the first 10 months of this year. We also had a very good grain harvest, the overall foreign exchange influx increased 15 percent, and 21 percent as regards hard currency. Our foreign currency reserves have also increased.

We have noted a certain growth in labor productivity this year after several years. These and other good results that we have had, Mikulic stressed, should not be emphasized to turn our public's attention "in the other direction," that is to say, to divert them from discussing the negative manifestations and tendencies we are facing, but to create a climate for a creative criticism of our realistic problems and mistakes.

Branko Mikulic then spoke of certain texts and individual discussions regarding our political system. There is no reason to have politically nervous discussions or for a division into reformers and defenders of the Constitution, progressive people and dogmatists, "Titoists" and "anti-Titoists," because such a priori "divisions" make impossible a democratic discussion of the issues that have to be discussed and regarding which stands have to be established for the sake of further developing our political system in the directions established by the Constitution. However, some texts raise substantive questions on the relations in the federation, its character, role, and the equality of all its constituent parts. A change in the substance of socialist self-management socioeconomic relations and our political system's foundation is pressed for. This brings one to the conclusion that it is supporters of such points of view who are deliberately raising the "political temperature" so as to take advantage of this situation to be able to implement their objective.

During the discussion the question has been raised in an unprincipled way of the role Tito played in the adoption of the 1974 Constitution. By apostrophizing Tito's anti-dogmatism, they proclaim dogmatists those people who in advance refuse to declare themselves in favor of the changes to our Constitution, but instead insist upon a serious discussion of the initiatives for these changes.

To all intents and purposes, political pressure is being brought to bear on the public in this way to opt for changes to our political system before completing the work that is critical in analyzing our political system's functioning and before reaching agreement upon what should be promoted and further developed. This does not at all constitute a contribution to the establishment of favorable conditions for a responsible working and creative discussion about the political system's functioning and its further development.

I would also like to mention a crossword puzzle in a reputable daily paper published in the November holiday issue in whose center a drawing of the SFRY coat of arms with five torches appeared! This emblem with five torches also appeared in another paper. This means that nothing that happens in politics is accidental. Haven't the answers to this crossword puzzle been provided with the adoption of the 1963 Constitution? Doesn't Yugoslavia have six republics and six peoples? Why is this required and who can derive any advantage from it? Branko Mikulic, SFRY Presidency member, asked this among other things.

PRC MINISTER OF PUBLIC SECURITY VISITS

Delegations Begin Talks

LD111327 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- Official talks were held in Belgrade today between delegations of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs and the PRC Ministry of Public Security. The delegations were led by Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary of internal affairs and member of the Federal Executive Council, and Liu Fuzhi, PRC's minister of public security. An assessment was made during the talks that within the scope of overall political, economic, and interstate relations cooperation between the security services of the two countries was also developing well and that requirements and conditions existed for its further promotion. Opportunities for cooperation have also increased by virtue of the fact that beginning this year the PRC has been an Interpol member and cooperation within the ambit of this organization, in addition to bilateral contacts, will contribute to international forms of crime, especially international terrorism, being confronted more successfully.

Minister Fuzhi expressed satisfaction over his visits to the internal affairs organs in Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia, and stressed that some experience will be of interest to the PRC public security organs as well.

During the day the delegation visited the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center and the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Dolanc Receives Minister

LD112325 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency, today received Liu Fuzhi, minister of public security and member of the CPC Central Committee, who is visiting our country as the guest of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. In a cordial and friendly conversation they discussed the positive development of all-round bilateral cooperation and the opportunities for expanding this further, for which there is interest and readiness on both sides. There was also mention in the talks of a number of issues relating to international cooperation, particularly in the struggle against international terrorism and the suppression of the narcotics trade. Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, and Xie Li, PRC ambassador to Yugoslavia, were present at the talks.

POLITIKA VIEWS PRAGUE IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

AU111336 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Permanent correspondent S. Djukic report]

[Excerpts] Prague, 7 Dec -- The 3-day conference of the members of the editorial board of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA which concluded in Prague last night is one of those gatherings about which one talks more on the basis of external impressions than on the basis of the substance available to the public.

An event causing various comments among foreign observers remained unexplained to the end of the conference. This event was reported in the Moscow press which particularly stressed that the Prague gathering widely supported a proposal to hold a world conference of communist and workers parties. Views of several speakers were cited in this sense, and Hermann Axen, SED representative, stated that his party is prepared to coordinate the realization of such a conference, the main subject of which would be the danger of nuclear war and how to prevent it.

The joint communique on the gathering was expected with great interest. However, apart from listing all the delegations, the communique only briefly reports that the participants at the conference "evaluated the activity and submitted specific proposals for improving it further," and that "special attention was paid to the problems of peace and security."

It is also noted that this concise statement finds place for a recommendation that the journal should in the future take into account the wishes expressed and work "in the spirit of equal rights, cooperation, and respect for the interests of every party."

In response to the question why the "Inforamtion Report on the Results of the Conference," as the title reads, did not convey the content of this agreement in more detail, one can hear two opinions: first, there has been no ambition to do this, because it is a matter of an open tribune; and second, the sum of the opinions heard here would be difficult to be rendered in a joint statement acceptable to all.

The journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA gathers together more than 60 representatives of communist and workers parties. Among them are also representatives of the communist parties of Italy and France. The published list of the participants at the gathering shows that a delegate of the PCI attended (but not of the PCF). However, as the names of the participants are not given, it is not known who represented the Italian Communists and whether he spike at the conferene.

ASSEMBLY SESSION ASSESSES BALKAN COOPERATION

LD111913 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav parliament assessed today, Tuesday, that relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey were favourably developing, particularly following the recent visit there paid by President of the Yugoslavia Presidency Veselin Djuranovic.

A parliamentary committee noted that Yugoslavia's activities in the domain of cooperation in the Balkans have lately been enlarged considerably and certain major results attained. It was stressed that fresh efforts should further be invested towards the reaffirmation of the idea of turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation. The committee also pointed out the importance of superior forms of industrial cooperation amonst the countries in the Balkans.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS HELD WITH THAILAND

LD081355 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1311 GMT 8 Dec 84

[Text] Bangkok, December 8 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and Thailand agreed at their first ministerial meeting on economic relations and cooperation which closed here today, to establish long-term economic cooperation and expand bilateral trade. During the two-day meeting, it was also agreed that a joint committee for trade be set up and hold its first meeting next year. Under the long-term agreement, cooperation in the fields of investment, joint ventures and technology transfers was also agreed on.

The Yugoslav delegation, headed by Federal Government member Rikard Stanjner, offered cooperation in the fields of energy, ship building and mining. The hosts expressed the wish for Yugoslav firms' participation in joint venture projects in the rubber, leather and feed manufacturing industries. It was proposed that commercial banks and other competent institutions review methods for monitoring this cooperation as soon as possible.

The Yugoslav and Thai delegations agreed that further efforts should be made to expand bilateral economic cooperation, which at present amounts to only 5 million dollars.

LCY CC SECRETARY RETURNS FROM FRG 11 DECEMBER

LD112334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- Dimce Belovski, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, returned to Belgrade this evening after a visit to Bonn at the invitation of the German Social Democratic Party Presidium. Belovski was welcomed at Belgrade airport by Svetislav Stojakov, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

LCY PRESIDIUM MEMBER ARRIVES IN NICOSIA 11 DEC

LD112339 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Coratian 2135 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Nicosia, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Vojvodina Provincial LC Committee, arrived in Nicosia tonight at the invitation of the Restorative Party of the Working People [AKEL] Politbureau. At Larnaka airport, Bosko Krunic was welcomed by Dhinos Khristofidhis, member of the AKEL Politbureau, and Veselin Popovac, SFRY ambassador to Cyprus.

During his stay in Cyprus, Bosko Krunic will have talks with Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary general of AKEL, and other members of the Politbureau on the two countries' internal development, the situation in the international workers' and progressive movement, and the Cyprus crisis.

Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is also expected to be received by President of Cyprus Spiros Kiprianou, who is scheduled to return from New York on Thursday.